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JOURNAL  
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ART. VIII.—*On Buddhism in its Relation to Brāhmanism.*

By Professor Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, C.I.E.,  
D.C.L., M.R.A.S.

THE recent annexation of Upper Burmah will probably give an impulse to the study of Buddhism. At any rate, the fact that the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists are being made accessible through Professor Oldenberg's edition of the Vinaya-piṭaka,—through the works of Professor Rhys Davids and other scholars,—and more especially through the valuable publications of the Pāli Text Society, is likely, I hope, to cause a considerable accession to the ranks of Pāli scholars.

Rightly or wrongly, and in my opinion wrongly, Buddhism has always excited more attention and interest in this country than Brāhmanism, and the relationship of the one to the other is not yet generally understood.

I may therefore perhaps be held excused if I venture to come before this Society to-day, not with any new theory or discovery, either in the science of language or religion, but with a contribution towards setting forth more clearly the debt that Buddhism owes to Brāhmanism, and Brāhmanism to Buddhism, and the inter-relationship between two systems which together influence the creed, conduct and social condition of more than one-third of the population of the world.

I need scarcely say that I am here using the term Buddhism in a restricted sense. I am applying it to that moral and philosophical system first taught in India about 2350 years ago, of which the Sacred Books of the Southern

Buddhists are the best exponent, not to those highly developed forms of so-called Buddhism which prevail as popular religions in other parts of Asia in the present day.

And at the outset I may remark that philosophical Buddhism bears much the same relation to its various later out-growths that pure Brāhmanism bears to Hindūism.

In speaking on former occasions before this Society, I have striven to point out what I conceive to be the difference between pure Brāhmanism and Hindūism.

Pure philosophical Brāhmanism may fairly be identified with the Vedānta system, which again is closely connected with the Sāṅkhya.

It is a creed built up on the doctrine of an impersonal, universally present, unconscious spirit called Brahman—a kind of spiritual element or vital principle pervading all space, and underlying equally every material object, whether organic, or inorganic, whether stones, animals, men or gods.

It postulates the eternal existence of that impersonal elementary spirit as its starting-point—denies the real existence, not only of all material objects, but of the separate human soul, as distinct from the universal soul; and ends where it began in a pure impersonal entity, which it is difficult to distinguish in its unconscious state from pure nonentity. If this be Pantheism, as commonly alleged, it is a kind of spiritual Pantheism very different from the ordinary Pantheism of European philosophy.

Hindūism, on the other hand, is a system built up on the doctrine of devotion to the personal gods Śiva and Vishṇu. It postulates the eternal existence of those personal gods as its starting-point, and ends in simple polytheism and idolatry.

If we compare in the same way philosophical with popular Buddhism, the difference seems to lie in this:—

Philosophical Buddhism—or at least the truest form of it—is a system built up on the doctrine of the utter unreality and undesirableness of life in any form or state, and the non-existence of any spiritual essence, as distinct from material organisms. It postulates the eternal existence of

Nothing<sup>1</sup> as its starting-point, and ends in simple Nihilism. Impermanence is written on the whole visible universe, including man. Even the most perfect human being must lapse into non-existence.

Popular Buddhism, on the other hand, is a system built up on the worship of certain perfected human beings converted into personal gods. It affirms the eternal permanence of such beings in some state or other, just as Vaishṇavas affirm the eternal existence of Vishṇu. It gives them divine attributes, and ends like Hindūism in polytheism and idolatry.

With this popular doctrine we have at present nothing to do. Our only concern is with that form of philosophical Buddhism which is set forth in the sacred books of the Southern Canon, and was once current in India.

And at first it might seem that for a Brāhman, who is a Brahma-vādī, that is to say, who asserts that Brahman—the one Spirit—really exists and nothing else, and for a Buddhist, who is a Śūnya-vādī—that is, who affirms that a blank or void must be substituted for Brahman—there can be no common meeting-ground.

But a careful examination of the two systems proves that they were not only closely related in their origin, but that the separation and antagonism which afterwards took place between them were never so great as to exclude the prospect of their ultimately drawing towards each other again by mutual sympathy and attraction, and even actually blending; the result of this final union being, in my opinion, the production of the later forms of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. Indeed, the worshippers of the god Vishṇu, in their ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality, in their abstinence from injury, and benevolence towards all creatures, in their hero-worship, deification of humanity and fondness for images, have always seemed to me to be more than half Buddhists.

Perhaps, then, the very first point made clear by the study of the original documents is that the Buddha never seriously thought of founding a religious system in direct

<sup>1</sup> Except it be *Karma* ‘act,’ but Buddhism does not undertake to explain how the first act originated.

opposition to Brāhmaṇism. He himself was a Hindū of the Hindūs, and he remained a Hindū to the end.

And it is remarkable that just as the Founder of Christianity, being Himself a Jew, never required his followers to give up their Jewish creed or usages, so the founder of Buddhism, being himself a Hindū, never required his adherents to make any formal renunciation of their ancestral religion, as if they had been converted to an entirely new faith.

Nor had the Buddha any idea of ostentatiously courting popularity as a champion of universal social equality and denouncer of all distinctions of rank<sup>1</sup>—a kind of Tribune of the people, whose mission was to protect them from the tyranny of caste.

What he rather aimed at was to form a caste of his own, that is to say, an order of monks which had in its constitution much of the character of a caste, though not a priestly one—a vast association of persons who were all to be equals in rank—a brotherhood in which all were equally under the triple vow of celibacy, poverty and mendicancy—a society in which all were equally dominated by one idea—an idea very prevalent before Gautama's time—that life was not worth living under any circumstances, whether on earth or in heaven, whether in present or future bodies.

The founding of such a monastic Order was, without doubt, the Buddha's principal aim; and when founded, it contained within itself potentialities for expansion of which its founder probably never dreamed.

Its growth soon surpassed all anticipations, and its ramifications rapidly extended in all directions, spreading in the end to distant countries, where, like the Indian Fig-tree, they sent down roots to form vigorous plants even after the decay of the parent stem.

In point of fact, an organized monastic system, which opened its arms to all comers of whatever rank, and enforced on its members the duty of extending its boundaries by itinerary,

<sup>1</sup> This, I admit, is not consistent with what I said in Indian Wisdom (p. 55), but when I wrote that work the Tripitaka was not so well known as it is now.

and by the constant rolling onward of the wheel of the Buddhist law, constituted from the earliest times the chief strength, the very backbone, of Buddhism, without which it could never have been propagated, nor even have held its own in the place of its origin for so many centuries.

But in this, his main design, Gautama was really no innovator ; no introducer of new ideas foreign either to the spirit or practice of Brāhmanism.

Monasticism had always been an adjunct, or accompaniment of the Brāhmanical system. Thus, we find it laid down in Manu's Law-book (vi. 1) that every twice-born man was bound to be first a student living with a preceptor, next a married householder, and then, at a certain period of a long life, he was to abandon wife, family, and caste, and become in due course a hermit or anchorite, living in the woods, or a mendicant wandering from door to door.

In fact, it was through these very stages and states of life that Gautama Buddha himself must in all probability have passed.

And be it observed that ordinary Hindū monks were not necessarily Brāhmans. There were in India many monastic communities which included in them men of various castes and sects, and there were also numerous solitary monks and devotees. These took vows of different kinds, whether of self-torture, of silence, of fasting, of poverty, of nakedness, of mendicancy, of celibacy, of abandoning caste, rank, wife, and family.

Hence they called themselves by various names, such as Sannyāsi, 'one who has abandoned the world' ; Vairāgi, 'one who is free from all worldly desires' ; Yogi, 'one who seeks union with the Deity by abstract meditation' ; Yati, 'one who restrains his passions' ; Jitendriya, 'one who has conquered his organs of sense' ; Śramaṇa, 'one who fatigues himself by austerities' ; Bhikshu, 'one who lives by begging.'

The peculiarity of Gautama's monachism was that he made it a necessary qualification for all who wished to enter the path leading to final beatitude, and that he set his face against all solitary asceticism. His aim was to form a vast

well-organized fraternity of celibate monks, co-extensive with humanity itself ; and although these were to be collected in local centres, they were nevertheless bound to move about from one place to another both to obtain their daily food and for the propagation of the Buddha's doctrine. It should always, indeed, be borne in mind that celibacy, poverty, and mendicancy were three essentials of *true* Buddhism, and not a mere accidental accompaniment of it.

It is to be noted, however, that Gautama did not think it necessary to distinguish the members of his Order by any new title, but preferred making use of some of the current Brähmanical names.

His usual mode of designating them was by the term Bhikshu (Pāli Bhikkhu) 'beggars,' to indicate their poverty ; though they were also called Śrāvaka 'hearers,' to denote their attitude of attention as hearers of the Law; and Śramaṇa (Pāli Samaṇa, Sanskrit root Śram), to indicate the labour and fatigue they had to undergo after their admission to the Order.

For although Buddhism has the credit of being the easiest and least burdensome religious system in the world, and its monks among the idlest of men—as having properly no rites and ceremonies to perform, and nothing to do in the way of working for a livelihood—yet in real truth the carrying out the objects contemplated by the Founder was no sinecure if earnestly undertaken.

It was not possible for men to be really idle who felt that their only mode of avoiding starvation was by begging their daily bread from place to place, and that as members of the Order they were bound to be constantly engaged in turning the wheel of the law, in bringing all their bodily desires into subjection, and in practising profound meditation for the attainment of true knowledge.

This last duty—the duty of meditation—the Buddha himself—as is well known—had set the example of performing for many years as a means of attaining true enlightenment. And it may be here pointed out that in doing so, he had merely conformed to the practice of Yoga, which, though

not formulated into a regular system of philosophy, was at that time common enough among the Brāhmans.

There can be little doubt that Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna, and Samādhi, three forms of abstract contemplation and mental concentration, were frequently resorted to by Brāhmans in Gautama's time with much the same object he had in view—perfect spiritual insight and true enlightenment of mind. Indeed this may be proved by a reference to Manu vi. 72.

The very Gāyatrī or ancient Vedic prayer—still used by millions of our Indian fellow-subjects at their daily devotions—was originally an act of meditation performed with the very same object:—"Let us meditate on the excellent glory of the divine vivifying Sun, may he enlighten our understandings" (Rig-veda iii. 62. 10).

Even the choice of the Aśvattha or sacred Pīpal tree as the place under which the first stirrings of the divine afflatus—symbolized by the mysterious rustling of its tremulous leaves—were likely to make themselves felt, was quite in harmony with Brāhmanical ideas; for we know that in the Kāṭha Upanishad (vi. 1)<sup>1</sup> the root of this tree is identified with the Supreme Being Brahman, and that a passage in the Muṇḍaka Upanishad (iii. 1, 1), and a Mantra of the Rig-veda (I. 164, 20), point to the same conception. It is true that Gautama subsequently repudiated all idea of any divine inspiration coming from any external source, yet it is highly probable that when he first seated himself under the sacred Fig-tree, which is even now regarded as a form of Brahmā—he expected to be visited by some kind of supernatural communications.

Enough, then, has been said to show that, according to Gautama's original plan, every true Buddhist was bound to be a celibate monk. Let us not forget, however, that in practice Buddhism recognized laymen and married householders quite as much as Brāhmanism did.

Of course the Buddha knew very well that it was not possible to enforce celibacy on all his followers, however

<sup>1</sup> I do not mean by this to affirm as a certainty that the Kāṭha Upanishad, though ancient, was pre-Buddhistic. Its exact date is immaterial; it must be taken in conjunction with the Mantra in the Rig-Veda and other passages, as proving the great antiquity of the idea of this tree's sacredness.

desirable such an eventuality might have been. He was well aware that if every man and woman had been led through his example and teaching to remain unmarried, and go about from one place to another, either as a mendicant or preacher, there would have been no work done, no food produced, no children born, and in time no humanity—nay no Buddhism—left.

He had to take the Indian world as he found it, and the generality of people were in Gautama's day very much what they are in India now-a-days—bent on early marriage and resolute in devoting themselves to the task of earning a livelihood by honest work—aye and down right hard work too.

Without doubt celibacy in instances of extraordinary sanctity has always commanded respect in India; but in no country of the world has married life been so universally honoured, and the duty of toiling daily for self-support so universally admitted. It is not very likely, then, that the following sentiment from the *Sutta-Nipāta* could have met with very general approval among the Buddha's hearers :

“A wise man should avoid married life as if it were a burning pit of live coals” (*Dhammadika-Sutta* 21, *Kumāra Svāmī*).

And indeed it seems to me that the very circumstance that the foundations of Buddhism were not laid, as those of Brāhmanism were—and as those of Christianity notably are—on the sacred rock of family-life, and that Gautama made abstinence from marriage essential to actual enrolment in his society, and to perseverance on the way of salvation, is sufficient of itself to account for the fact that Buddhism never gained any real stability or permanence in India.

At any rate it is clear that the Buddha, foreseeing the impossibility of converting the mass of the people to his anti-matrimonial views, very soon gathered round him an exterior circle of married laymen. These lay brethren were bound to Buddhism by very slender ties. They were required to conform to the simplest possible code of morality.

Probably the only test a layman had to undergo was his willingness to appear before an assembly of monks and repeat

the formula, "I take refuge with the Buddha, his Law and his Order." And indeed it seems to me probable that it was for this reason that lay adherents were not called disciples, but simply Upāsakas, that is, 'Servers,' or 'Honourers,' and in the case of women Upāsikās.

At all events they had to perform serving, and this chiefly consisted in the offering of food and gifts to the monks. If any lay brother failed in this act of reverence, the only punishment inflicted on him was that he was deprived of this privilege of presenting gifts, and so acquiring a store of merit necessary to his advancement in future states of being. In brief, lay brethren were not true Buddhists except so far as by supporting and serving the monks,<sup>1</sup> they qualified themselves for enrolment within the pale of the Monastic Order at some future time or in subsequent forms of corporeal existence. Nor were they, as I have already hinted, bound to be believers in the Buddha's doctrine, except as one part of their general creed.

What I mean is, that when a man presented himself before a body of monks and claimed to be admitted as a lay brother on the ground of his readiness to do homage to the Buddha, his Law and his Order, he was not thereby precluded from retaining a half or even whole belief in the old-established creeds and customs of his family. In short, he was not required to break with Hindūism, and as a matter of fact never did so, any more than the lay Buddhists of China broke with Confucianism and Tauism.<sup>2</sup>

This was only in keeping with Aśoka's declaration in his twelfth edict: "The beloved of the gods honours all forms of religious faith—there ought to be reverence for one's own faith and no reviling of that of others."<sup>3</sup>

Doubtless, such toleration of the doctrines and ideas of

<sup>1</sup> Comparing Western with Eastern Monachism, I may remark that the chief duty of the lay brethren attached to the monastery at Fountain's Abbey in Yorkshire was to wait upon the monks, procure food and cook it for them; and we learn from an interesting article on the Charterhouse in the *Times* of December 24th, 1885, that the same duty devolved on the Carthusian lay brothers.

<sup>2</sup> In China at the present day the Emperor practises simultaneously Confucianism, Buddhism and Tauism.

<sup>3</sup> See Wilson's and Burnouf's translations.

other systems had its advantages, especially in the early stages of the Buddhistic movement. It certainly had a prophylactic effect in warding off violent opposition, and helped to secure the permanence of Buddhism for many centuries in India. On the other hand, it had its *per contra* disadvantages, and the absence of any sharp lines of separation between Buddhism and co-existing creeds and superstitions makes it easy to understand how in the end it happened that on the destruction of Buddhist monasteries in India by hostile religionists, Buddhism seemed to melt away or become merged in Hindūism, while all its temples, symbols, idols, and sacred places became subservient to Vaishṇavism and Śaivism.

Yet, as a matter of fact, Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism co-existed for about a thousand years after Aśoka's Council (about 245 b.c.). If conflicts took place, they were not general, but confined to particular localities, and I think it may be safely affirmed that if Buddhism was ever anywhere persecuted, it never anywhere persecuted in return. I myself was much struck in one of my visits to India by the evidence Ellora (in the Nizām's territory) affords of friendly tolerance between Brāhmaṇs, Buddhists, and Jains. Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist, and Jain caves may be there seen side by side, and their inmates no doubt lived on terms of just as much harmony as the members of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan communions do in Europe at the present day. It was only in the South of India that any violent crusade against Buddhism—like that instituted by Kumārila and Śaṅkara in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era—seems to have been carried on. In other parts of India, Brāhmaṇism crept up somewhat insidiously to its rival, and drew the heat out of its body by close contact. In brief, I hold that if it be true to say that Brāhmaṇism was the birth-place of Buddhism, it is quite as true to assert that in India at least Brāhmaṇism became its grave, and that the passing away of the Buddhistic system was, on the whole, peaceful and unattended with any violent pangs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No doubt there are places in the South of India where there is evidence

With regard to the Order of Nuns (*Bhikshuṇī*, in Pāli *Bhikkhunī*), it is generally believed that at the outset of his career Gautama refrained from imparting, or allowing others to impart his ideas to women, simply because he feared the danger of encouraging communication with the female sex. Tradition asserts that women were indebted to the intercession of Gautama's favourite cousin Ānanda for permission to form a Sisterhood of their own.

Certain it is, that no long period elapsed before the Buddha conceded to women the privilege of entering on the same path of deliverance as that opened to men.

It is well known that at the time when Gautama lived, women were not kept in actual seclusion. Yet we learn from Manu's law-book that they enjoyed little independence of action, and were regarded as inferior beings, incapable of the same form of religion as men.

It was not surprising, therefore, that Gautama, while admitting the justice of the plea for women's rights under a system of universal brotherhood and equality, and while actually instituting a sisterhood of nuns, should have placed them under the direction of monks, and made them subject to the male Order in all matters of discipline.

Whatever may be said about the theory of social equality between men and women in Buddhist countries, there can be little doubt that in India Buddhism effected little alteration in Brāhmanical ideas about women.

It is at any rate clear that men were regarded as possessing an advantage over women in respect of the more rapid attainment of Nirvāṇa, and that every nun cherished as an object of legitimate ambition the hope of being born as a man in some future birth.

of some violent persecution. I may instance among the places I visited the Temples of Tanjore and Madura. When I concluded the reading of this paper at the meeting of the Society on February 15, 1886, our President, Colonel Yule, very justly remarked that the members of two religious communions who hold very similar doctrines often on that account hate and oppose each other all the more; but my point is that the intense tolerance and eclecticism that characterized both Brāhmanism and Buddhism must have prevented mutual persecution, except under special circumstances. Brāhmanism was much more likely to have adopted Buddhism as part of its system than to have persecuted and expelled it. In point of fact, the Brāhmans, as is well known, turned the Buddha into one of Vishnu's incarnations, very much as they are ready to turn the Founder of Christianity also.

Such then was the monachism which lay at the root of true Buddhism. It was in no one particular openly antagonistic to Hindū caste. It was supported, as we have seen, by a large body of lay associates, and those lay brethren who refrained from enrolling themselves as members of the Order retained their caste-distinctions without any denunciations from Gautama. Nor did Gautama ever rail at the Brāhmans, or dispute their right to be regarded as men of higher social rank. On the contrary, he treated them with respect, and taught others to do so,<sup>1</sup> just as he admitted the superiority of the gods over men, and allowed men to worship them; merely denying that either gods or Brāhmans could alter a man's condition in a future life.

What he really opposed was priestcraft and priestly domination, not caste; for, be it observed, Buddhism recognizes no priests, and has properly no priests of its own, unless monks can be so called.

Other reformers and leaders of Hindū sects had done much the same before him, so that even in this respect it cannot be said that Gautama struck out any wholly original line.

But it was not merely in the establishment and organization of a universal monastic Order, by means of which he might propagate what he believed to be true knowledge, that the Buddha took care to avoid any direct or offensive opposition to the spirit of Brāhmanism: he was equally careful in regard to the form in which the knowledge so propagated was presented. It seems indeed as if the great Teacher to whom the majority of Asiatic races have for centuries looked as a kind of god-like example, if not as an actual god, was naturally so tolerant of the opinions of others, and so humble-minded in regard to his own, that he could not bring himself to pose in the attitude of an original thinker.

<sup>1</sup> He even asserted that birth in a Brāhman family would be a reward for merit. According to Burnouf "very little difference appears between the Buddhists and Brāhmans in the *early* Buddhist writings, and Buddha is often described as followed by a crowd of Brāhmans as well as of Bhikkhus." See Journal R.A.S. o.s. Vol. XII. p. 242.

Almost all the doctrines of Buddhism will be found on examination to be more or less amplifications or modifications of previously current Brāhmanical ideas, which again were afterwards modified by an interchange with Buddhistic ideas. At any rate, it may be doubted whether Gautama himself during his whole life-time ever expressed opinions calculated to cause any serious offence to the most orthodox Brāhmans. He could not of course wholly dispense with dogmatic teaching of his own; but all his dogmas were more or less the result of a compromise with old-established doctrines.

And it is certain that the Buddha's method of clothing old truths in a new dress, or, to adopt another metaphor, of mixing new wine with old, had in it a fascination very attractive to most men. For Brāhmanism was in truth equally tolerant of other creeds, and equally eclectic. Even if a man were one of its most orthodox adherents, he was allowed to choose one of three ways or methods of securing his own salvation.

The first was the way of sacrifices, ceremonies and rites, as enjoined in the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda.

The second was the way of devotion to one or other of certain commonly worshipped personal deities, leading in later times to Śaivism and Vaishṇavism (as ultimately unfolded in the Purāṇas).

The third was the way of knowledge as set forth in the Upanishads.<sup>1</sup>

Any one of these three ways, or all three together, might be chosen without fear of being charged with heresy, so long as the authority of the Veda was not impugned; but the third, or way of knowledge, which was incomparably the highest way, was not open to all.

It was the way reserved for the more intellectual and

<sup>1</sup> The three ways are usually expressed in Sanskrit by Karman, Bhakti, and Jñāna respectively; but the doctrine of Bhakti was not fully developed till after the time of Buddha, though the Upanishads prove that the practice of devotion (as expressed by Upāsanā) must have existed.

philosophically-minded Brāhmans. The generality of men had to content themselves with the first and second ways. All that the Buddha then did was, in the first place, to institute an Order to which all classes were admissible; and in the second place to throw open the third or highest way—the way of true knowledge—to all who wished to enter upon it, of whatever rank or caste or mental calibre they might be. No human being, he declared, not even the lowest, was to be shut out from free access to the path of true enlightenment.

And here, of course, it will occur to most persons to inquire what was the nature of that knowledge which the Buddha thus made accessible to all?

Was it some deep spiritual truth? Some abstruse doctrine of philosophy, or physical, or metaphysical science? Was the Buddha's open way very different from the old, well-fenced-off and carefully-guarded Brāhmanical way? Was his knowledge opposed to Brāhmanical knowledge?

Unhappily we are here met by a difficulty. The Buddha promulgated a creed, but he never, like Muhammad, wrote a book or even a single line. He was, in some respects, the Socrates of India, and we are obliged to trust to his followers for a record of his sayings and doings. Still we have no reason to doubt the genuineness of what has been handed down in regard to the main doctrines he taught, and we are at once struck with the fact that Gautama called his own knowledge *Bodhi* and not *Veda*. Most probably he did so because he wished to imply that his own knowledge, as attainable by all through their own efforts and intuitions, was to be distinguished from *Veda* or knowledge obtainable through the Brāhmans alone, and by them through supernatural revelation only.

But it should be noted—as pointed out long ago by Professor A. Weber of Berlin, and recently by Professor Oldenber<sup>g</sup>—that even in the choice of a name derived from the Sanskrit root *Budh* ‘to know,’ the self-enlightened Buddha was only following the authors of the Brāhmaṇas. For example, the Śata-patha-brāhmaṇa called a

man *prati-buddha*<sup>1</sup> who had attained to perfect knowledge of the *Ātman*. It may be pointed out, too, that in *Manu* (iv. 204) the wise man is called *Budha*.

Moreover, the doctrines which grew out of his self-acquired knowledge *Gautama* still called *Dharma* ‘law,’ using the very same term employed by the *Brāhmans*—a term expressive of law in its most comprehensive sense, as comprising under it the physical laws of the Universe, as well as moral, political and social duties. And, further, the very first truth taught in the Buddha’s *Dharma* was after all no new truth. It was in perfect harmony with *Brāhma*nical ideas. His way of knowledge, though—like that of the *Brāhmans*—it ultimately developed into many paths, had only one point of departure. It started from the old truth, taught long before, that all life—not merely some life—was pain and misery, and it indicated two cures for that misery.

The first cure was *the suppression of desire*, especially the desire for continuity of existence. The second cure was *the removal of ignorance*. When, however, we come to put the question—ignorance of what? we find ourselves brought round by the well-known twelve-linked chain of causality to the old truth, and the answer we receive is:—ignorance that all life is pain and misery and all craving for continuity of individual existence a mistake.

It would be easy to prove that this kind of pessimism—the pessimism of Schopenhauer, von Hartmann and other modern European philosophers—was taught by the *Brāhmans* in Buddha’s time and has continued to be a thoroughly *Brāhma*nical idea even to the present day. Witness the following sentiment from the *Maitrāyaṇī* or *Maitri Upanishad* :—

“In this weak body, ever liable  
To wrath, ambition, avarice, illusion,  
To fear, grief, envy, hatred, separation  
From those we hold most dear, association  
With those we hate; continually exposed  
To hunger, thirst, disease, decrepitude,  
Emaciation, growth, decline and death,  
What relish can there be for true enjoyment?”

<sup>1</sup> *Sāta-patha-brāhmaṇa* xiv. 7, 2, 17.

Also the following, from Manu (vi. 77) :—

“This body like a house composed of the (five) elements, with bones for its rafters, tendons for its connecting links, flesh and blood for its mortar, skin for its covering ; this house filled with impurities, infested by sorrow and old age, the seat of disease, full of pain and passion, and not lasting—a man ought certainly to abandon.”

Later writers chime in, thus (Vairāgya-śataka of Bhartṛ-hari, iii. 32) :—

“Enjoyments are alloyed by fear of sickness,  
High rank may have a fall, abundant wealth  
Is subject to exactions, dignity  
Encounters risk of insult, strength is ever  
In danger of enfeeblement by foes,  
A handsome form is jeopardized by women,  
Scripture is open to assaults of critics,  
Merit incurs the spite of wicked men,  
The body lives in constant dread of death,  
One course alone is proof against alarm,  
Renounce the world, and safety may be won.”

And again (iii. 50) :—

“One hundred years<sup>1</sup> is the appointed span  
Of human life, one half of this goes by  
In sleep and night; one half the other half  
In childhood and old age ; the rest is passed  
In sickness, separation, pain and service—  
How can a human being find delight  
In such a life, vain as a watery bubble ?”

Then we know that the removal of the pain caused by desire, ignorance, and bodily existence, was the chief aim of the Brāhmanical systems of philosophy, quite as much as of the Buddhistic.

The very first aphorism of the Sāṅkhya system defines the chief aim of man to be complete deliverance from the misery and pain incident to corporeal existence. The Nyāya,

<sup>1</sup> Centenarians (S'atāyus, S'ata-varsha) seem to have been rather common in India in ancient times, if we may judge by the allusions to them in Manu and other works. See Manu, iii. 186 ; ii. 136, 137.

too, in its second aphorism, declares that beatitude consists in complete deliverance from the pain resulting from birth, actions and false knowledge; while the Vedānta considers that ignorance alone fetters the soul of man to the body, and is therefore, of course, the cause of all pain and suffering. Then, again, as to the Buddha's so-called agnostic and atheistic ideas, it is said that he wholly repudiated the existence of a Supreme Being. And it is true that his highest being was the perfectly enlightened man, free from all ignorance, desire and suffering.

Yet, as already pointed out, he had great sympathy with Yoga ideas, and the Yoga philosophy not only asserted the existence of God, but defined His nature thus (ii. 24):—

“God is a particular Spirit (*puruṣha*, which also means man), unaffected by pain, acts, the result of acts, and desires.”

Surely this might equally serve as a definition for the Buddha's perfect man, and it is difficult to suppose that one was not suggested by the other.<sup>1</sup> It seems, also, difficult to reconcile the Buddha's predilection for Yoga with his disbelief in the existence of Spirit as distinct from bodily organism. But a little consideration will perhaps indicate how he was brought round to this disbelief.

Probably before his so-called enlightenment and attainment of true knowledge, he was as firm a believer in the real existence of one Supreme Spirit as the most orthodox Brāhmaṇ. He had become imbued with Brāhmanical philosophy while sitting at the feet of his two teachers Udraka and Alāra. At that time there were no definite or finally formulated systems of philosophy, separated from each other by sharp lines. But the Sāṅkhya and Vedānta systems were assuming shape, and the doctrines they embodied had been roughly enunciated in the Upanishads, and were orally current.

For instance, it was then believed, as had been repeatedly stated in the Upanishads, that nothing really existed but one universally present impersonal Spirit, and that the whole visible world was really to be identified with that Spirit.

<sup>1</sup> By this I do not mean to imply that the Yoga definition was necessarily the first in point of time.

Then it followed as an article of faith that man's spirit, deluded into a temporary false idea of separate personal existence by the illusion of ignorance, and maintained in that false idea through repeated births by the force of its own acts, was also identical with that One Spirit, and ultimately to be re-absorbed into it.

Now it is obvious that to believe in the ultimate merging of man's personal spirit in One impersonal unconscious spirit, is virtually to deny the ultimate existence of any human spirit at all. Nay more—it is virtually to deny the existence of a supreme universal Spirit also.

For how can a merely abstract universal Spirit, which is unconscious of personality, be regarded as possessing any real existence worth being called true life?

To assert that such a Spirit is pure abstract Entity or (according to Vedānta phraseology) pure Existence (without anything to exist for), pure Thought or even Consciousness (without anything to think about, or be conscious about), pure Joy (without anything to rejoice about), is practically to reduce it to pure non-entity.

All that Gautama did, therefore, was to bring common sense to bear in purging Brāhmanism of a dogma which appeared to him to be a mere figment and a sham.

He simply eliminated as meaningless and incapable of proof the doctrine of an impersonal incorporeal unconscious spirit, whether human or divine.

And this leads us to the important question how far the great central Brāhmanical doctrine of soul-transmigration formed the basis of the Buddha's theory on the same subject. It might seem at first that the teaching of the Buddha would differ materially from that of the Brāhmans in regard to this central dogma. The real fact was that the divergence of the Buddhist doctrine from the Brāhmanical theory of metempsychosis was not greater than was to be expected from the difference between the two systems in regard to the doctrine of soul and spirit. Of course Gautama was brought up to accept unreservedly the Brāhmanical theory as minutely described in Manu's Law-book (chapter

xii. 41, 50, and elsewhere). The great Brāhmanical law-giver there set forth a triple order of transmigration through lower, middle, and higher planes of existence, resulting from good, middling, and bad acts, words and thoughts. Thus—to instance only the lower—the soul of a man who spoke ill of his teacher was destined to pass into an ass or a dog (ii. 201), the soul of a thief might occupy a mouse (xii. 62), the soul of one who neglected his caste-duties might pass into a demon (xii. 71, 72); and greater crimes might lead to the soul's being condemned to occupy plants, stones, and minerals. Then there was an intermediate condition of the soul, as a departed spirit or ghost, which would be miserable but for the Śrāddha ceremonies—a source of constant profit to the Brāhmans who performed them.

This passage of the soul through repeated bodies was the terrible incubus which it was the great object of Indian philosophers to remove. It was impossible, however, for Gautama to accept such ideas, denying as he did the existence of any soul or spirit at all, as distinct from material organization. He therefore put forth a view of his own, which was no doubt afterwards amplified by his followers into something more Buddhistic than Buddhism, just as Darwin's followers of the present day develope his teaching into something more Darwinian than Darwinism.

And perhaps I may be pardoned for recapitulating here what so many Pāli scholars have already made clear, that every human being according to the Buddhist is composed of five constituents called Skandhas.<sup>1</sup> And that these are : 1. Form (*rūpa*). 2. Sensations (*vedanā*). 3. The faculty of perception (*sañjñā*). 4. The faculty of conformation (*samskāra*), that is of forming ideas, dispositions (leading to actions, etc.). 5. The faculty of thought or consciousness (*vijñāna*). This fifth is the most important of the five, and is the only kind of soul recognized by Buddhists. Theoretically it perishes with the other Skandhas at death, but practically it is continued, its exact counterpart being reproduced in a new body.

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes a human being is said to be made up of the five elements—ether, air, fire, water, earth—with a sixth called *Vijñāna*, consciousness.

For although it is true that when a man dies, all the Skandhas are dissolved, yet by the force of the merit and demerit (*kusala* and *akuśala*) resulting from his actions (*karma*), a new set, of which consciousness (*vijñana*) is still the dominant faculty, instantly starts into being. The process of the new creation is so instantaneous that it is equivalent to the continuance of the same personality, pervaded by the same consciousness, though it is only really connected with the previous personality by the force of acts done and character formed in that personality. In short (as Prof. Rhys Davids has well shown), to speak of transmigration of souls as a doctrine of Buddhism is misleading.

A true Buddhist does not believe in the passing of a soul from one body to another, but in the passing on of what may be called act-force or character-force : that is to say, in the constant perpetuation and transmission of the aggregate of merit and demerit resulting from a man's acts so as to cause a continuous and connected series or succession of separate forms and personalities. It is this act-force alone, commonly called Karma, which is the connecting link between each man's past, present, and future bodies.

In its subtle and irresistible operation this accumulated Act-force may be compared to stored-up chemical or electric energy. It is a force which continually creates and re-creates the whole man, and perpetuates his personal identity (even in the absence of recollection) through separate forms, whether it compels him to ascend or descend in the scale of being. Be it observed, however, that the scale of descent appears to be limited in true Buddhism to animal organisms. It is not extended, as in the Brāhmanical system, to plants and minerals, stocks and stones.

Enough then has been stated to make it clear that the only creator recognized by Buddhists is, so to speak, Act-force. It is Act-force that creates worlds. It is Act-force that creates all beings in any of the six classes into which Buddhists divide all beings,—namely, gods, men, demons, animals, ghosts and the dwellers in hell. We know that it is an axiom with modern European men of science that no

force can ever be lost, but must of necessity be transmitted onwards in some form or other. Now the Buddhist philosopher affirmed this very thing many centuries ago in regard to the force generated by a man's character and acts ; and Brāhmanical philosophy affirmed much the same.

And what does the modern Positivist philosopher assert ? He maintains that both body and mind are resolved into their elements at death. The only immortal part of us is what good deeds we have done, what good words or thoughts we leave behind us, to be made use of by our descendants and improved on for the elevation of humanity. And the aggregate of these, according to the Buddhist, constitutes a force strong enough to re-create us.

It was thus that the force of Gautama's own acts had constantly re-created him through a long chain of successive personalities terminating in the perfect Buddha. And it was a peculiar characteristic of the perfect Buddha that he was gifted with the faculty of recollecting these personalities and describing them. The stories of at least five hundred and fifty of his births (Jātakas) are even now daily repeated to thousands of eager listeners in every Buddhist country over the greater part of Asia, and are believed to convey important moral lessons, much in the same manner, if I may be allowed to say so with all reverence, that the stories of the Old Testament patriarchs, prophets, and heroes, who are held by Christians to be types of Christ, are repeated as lessons in our own religious services.

The close inter-relationship between Brāhmanism and Buddhism, and the interchange of ideas which took place between each, are again exemplified by the Buddhist birth-stories, many of which are obviously mere modifications or adaptations of old fables and folk-lore long current in India, while others have evidently been imported from Buddhism into the fables of Sanskrit literature.

In reading them one is constantly reminded of similar stories in the Pañcā-tantra, Hitopadeśa, Rāmāyaṇa, and Mahā-bhārata. The noteworthy point about the repeated births of the Buddha is that there appears to have been no

Darwinian rise from lower to higher forms ; no working of the way gradually and progressively upwards ; but, on the contrary, a mere jumble of metamorphoses. Thus we find him born twenty times as the god Indra, eighty-three times as an ascetic, fifty-eight times as a king, twenty-four times as a Brāhmaṇa, once as a gamester, eighteen times as a monkey, six times as an elephant, eleven times as a deer, once as a dog, four times as a serpent, six times as a snipe, once as a frog, twice as a fish, forty-three times as a tree-god, twice as a pig, ten times as a lion, four times as a cock, twice as a thief, once as a devil-dancer, and so on in an endless irregular series, without any apparent conformity to any rule or law of development.

Another wise man of the East, who lived long before Gautama, spoke of “the path of the just shining more and more unto the perfect day.”<sup>1</sup> Of this kind of progressive advance towards higher planes of perfection, the Indian sage knew nothing. Nor to the Buddha, of course, would such a doctrine as that of “imputed Righteousness” have conveyed any meaning whatever. With Gautama, righteousness and unrighteousness, holiness and sin, were merely forces causing in the one case a man’s rebirth either in one of the heavens or in higher earthly corporeal forms, and in the other his rebirth in one of the hells or in lower corporeal forms. “Not in the heavens,” says the Dhamma-pada, “not in the midst of the sea, not if thou hidest thyself away in the clefts of the mountains, wilt thou find a place where thou canst escape the force resulting from thy evil actions.”<sup>2</sup> And this Buddhist theory of every man’s destiny being dependent on his own acts is quite in keeping with Brāhmanical ideas expressed here and there in Sanskrit literature. Take for example the following : — Pūrva-janma-kritam karma tad daivam iti kathyate, “the act committed in a former birth that is called one’s destiny”; and again, “As from a lump of clay a workman makes what he pleases, even so a man obtains

<sup>1</sup> Proverbs iv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Dhammapada, 127, 219 (Dr. Oldenberg’s Buddha, p. 243), with a slight variation of phraseology.

whatever destiny he has wrought out for himself" (*Hītapañcāsa*, Introduction).

We are reminded too of a sentiment by a poet of our own—

"Our deeds still travel with us from afar,  
And what we have been makes us what we are."<sup>1</sup>

And of Don Quixote's saying, "Every man is the son of his own works;" and of Wordsworth's, often quoted, "The child is father of the man;" and of Longfellow's, "Lives of great men all remind us, we can make ourselves sublime."

Nor can ceremonies and rites performed by priests avail aught, nor can any devotion to personal gods avail aught, nor can anything whatever, except a man's own works and deservings, possess the slightest efficacy.

Not that the gods and demons of the Hindū Pantheon were held by the Buddhists to be mere myths. They existed in more subtle corporeal forms than those of men, and were, moreover, powerful beings, capable of working good or evil, benefit or harm; among them the Vedic god Indra being particularly revered.

Yet they were not omnipotent, and were wholly powerless to help or hinder any one on the road to his own salvation. If we turn next to that division of the Buddhist system which seeks to explain the operation of physical laws in the creation and dissolution of worlds, we are again reminded of Brāhmanical ideas.

We have already noted that, notwithstanding the great difference between Buddhism and Brāhmanism in regard to the doctrine of Spirit, the disagreement in the end appears to be more apparent than real. The same may be said with regard to Buddhist ideas on the subject of matter as opposed to spirit. Here, again, the gulf between the two systems appears at first to be impassable. It might indeed have been supposed that since Gautama denied the eternal existence of Spirit, he would at least give eternal existence to matter.

<sup>1</sup> These lines constitute the text of the 70th chapter of George Eliot's "Middlemarch."

But no ; here, again, Buddhism allowed no permanence. Here, again, the only eternal thing is the Causality of Act-force.

The world around us, with all its visible phenomena, must be recognized as an existing entity, for we see before our eyes evidence of its actual existence. But it is an entity produced out of nonentity, and destined to lapse again into nonentity when its time is fulfilled.

For out of nothingness it came, and into nothingness must it return, to re-appear again, it is true, but as a wholly new creation brought into being by the accumulated force of its own acts, not evolved out of any eternally existing germ.

It is thus that the Universe is like an endless succession of countless bubbles which are for ever forming, expanding, drifting onwards, bursting and re-forming, each bubble owing its re-formation to the force generated by its vanished predecessor ;

“ Worlds on worlds are rolling ever \*  
From creation to decay :  
Like the bubbles on a river,  
Sparkling, bursting, borne away.” <sup>1</sup>

Or like an interminable succession of wheels for ever coming into view, for ever rolling onwards, disappearing and reappearing ; for ever passing from being to non-being, and again from non-being to being.

As to the question what force created the first world, the Buddha hazarded no opinion. He held this to be an inexplicable mystery.

Many of these speculations also may be traced back to a Brāhmanical source. We know that a fundamental doctrine of Brāhmanism is *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. The true Vedānta philosophy makes the Universe proceed out of an eternal illusion, and students of Manu are familiar with the doctrine of Kalpas, or immense intervals of time (lasting for 4,320,000,000 earthly years), during which every creation attains perfection, and then again deteriorates and decays till it is utterly dissolved, not indeed into nothingness,

but into Brahman or simple unconscious Spirit, to be again evolved with the inauguration of a fresh Kalpa.

Can it be affirmed, however, that pure unconscious spirit is virtually very different from pure nothingness?

What says the author of a well-known hymn of the Rig-veda (x. 120) ?—

“In the beginning there was neither naught nor aught,  
Then there was neither sky nor atmosphere above.  
Then first came darkness hid in darkness, gloom in gloom ;  
Next all was water, all a chaos indiscreet,  
In which the One lay void, shrouded in nothingness.”

Then as to the Kalpas or ages of the world, we know that the Brāhmaṇical notion of vast intervals of time exceeds the wildest dreams of modern geologists; yet the Buddhist conception is a mere exaggeration of the same notion.

Let it be supposed, say Buddhist writers, that a solid rock forming a vast cube 16 miles high, and the same in length and breadth, were lightly rubbed once in a hundred years with a piece of the finest cloth, and by this slight friction reduced in countless ages to the size of a mango-seed; that would still give you no idea of the immense duration of a Buddhist Kalpa.

Then again the Buddhist theory of numerous heavens and hells is nothing but an equally exaggerated expansion of the Brāhmaṇical.

One of the earliest doctrines of Brāhmaṇism was that earth, atmosphere, and heaven formed three worlds (Manu xi. 236), and we find Buddhist writers expanding these into three sets or groups of worlds, the first comprising the seven worlds of sensuous desire (Kāma), viz. the earth and six heavens of the gods, all the inhabitants of which are capable of those sensual feelings and desires which lead to re-birth and death, and are therefore presided over by Māra, the deadly spirit of evil, whose sphere is the atmosphere, and who, as Prof. Oldenberg has well shown, is the counterpart of Mrityu, ‘god of death,’ in the Kathopanishad. The second group are called ‘worlds of form’ (Rūpa), divided according to four

places of pure thought or meditation, and said to contain sixteen (or according to the Northern school seventeen or even eighteen) heavens. The third group are called 'formless worlds,' and contain four heavens, inhabited by beings who appear to exist in a highly sublimated transcendental state, untroubled by desires, feelings, or thoughts.

Similar hyperbole is used in describing the numerous Buddhist hells. Manu(iv. 88-90) reckons 21 hells or places of torment of various degrees, but these are expanded by Buddhists into 136, the eight principal of which are minutely described as terrible places of torture. The worst, called Avīci, is for unbelievers in and revilers of Buddha and his law.

And now, before I conclude, I feel rather like a foolhardy person rushing recklessly over thorny ground when I venture to speak of the culminating Buddhist doctrine of Nirvāṇa? I think, however, I may assert two things about this much controverted expression without fear of being contradicted.

The first is that the word Nirvāṇa is an expression common both to Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism. It was probably current in Gautama's time, and certainly occurs in the Mahā-bhārata, parts of which may extend back to the time when Buddhism first arose in India. Of course, like some of the crucial theological terms of Christianity, it is capable of being interpreted differently, according to the views of the interpreter and the point he wishes to establish.

The second is that it would be about as unreasonable to restrict the expression Nirvāṇa to one meaning as it would be to restrict both Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism—two most elastic, comprehensive and Protean systems—which have constantly changed their front to suit changing circumstances and varying national peculiarities at different epochs and in different countries, to one hard and fast outline.

Nirvāṇa, no doubt, properly means 'a state of extinction' like that of a blown-out flame, but such extinction may have at least three meanings. It may indicate first a complete extinction of the fires<sup>1</sup> of the passions and a total cessation

<sup>1</sup> The three chief fires are lust; infatuation and hatred.

of all desires,<sup>1</sup> especially the desire for individual existence—a state achieved by all Arhats while still living in the world, and notably by the Buddha himself, at the moment when he attained Buddhahood, forty-four years before his complete Nirvāṇa. Then, secondly, there is a form of Nirvāṇa insisted on by many, in which the leading idea seems to be a state of absolute release from all pain, accompanied by a sense of profound peace and rest, all fear of further bodily existences having terminated. This condition, implying as it does an actual consciousness of blissful repose, precludes the idea of utter annihilation. Then, thirdly, Nirvāṇa may stand for a state of entire cessation of re-births, with utter extinction of all conscious personal existence as attained by the Buddha, according to the orthodox view, at the moment of his death.

Now with regard to the first form of Nirvāṇa—the extinction of the fires of the passions—it must be borne in mind that a feeling of profound respect for such a condition was ingrained in the mind of every true Hindū, and that there was really nothing new in this idea.

Even to this day no one can have come in contact with the natives of India in their own country, without observing that for a genuine aristocratic Brāhmaṇa to allow others to see him give way to any passion, to exhibit any emotion or enthusiasm, is regarded as a proof of weakness.

We can easily understand, therefore, that when the Buddha exhorted his followers to strive after a wholly impassive condition, he addressed a sympathetic audience.

Long before his exhortations were heard in India, his fellow-countrymen held persons in the highest respect who claimed to have entirely suppressed their passions. The only peculiarity in Gautama's teaching was that he made this object incumbent on all true Buddhists alike, without exception. And this state of absolute impassiveness is well indicated to the eye by the usual attitude of the images which, after Gautama's death, were carved to represent him

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Rhys Davids holds that the Buddha did not advocate the suppression of good desires.

—an attitude of complete tranquillity, passionless composure, and dignified calm.

Then, with regard to the second phase of Nirvāna, in which the main idea is cessation of all pain, this seems to correspond very much to the Brāhmanical Apavarga, described in the Nyāya, and defined by a commentator, Vātsyāyana, to be Sarva-duḥkha-ścheda. I trust I shall not shock my Indian friends if I illustrate this condition by an example from the animal creation. In crossing the Indian Ocean, when unruffled by the slightest breeze, I have sometimes observed a jelly-fish floating on the surface of the transparent water, apparently lifeless, but really drinking in the warm fluid in a state of lazy blissful repose.

No Buddhist at least could look at such a sight without being reminded of the second idea of Nirvāna—the idea of, so to speak, floating in perfect peace and cessation from all pain on a kind of ocean of conscious beatitude.

With regard to the highest form of Nirvāna—sometimes called Parinirvāna—absolute extinction of conscious personal existence and individuality, I have already shown that if this is to be distinguished from the Brāhmanical idea of absorption into an impersonal unconscious spirit—whereby the Ego of personal identity was utterly destroyed—it is a distinction without much difference.

We may be quite sure that although the highest form of Nirvāna is the ultimate goal, and great object of all the loftiest aspirations of a true Buddhist, it has no place in the aims, efforts, and even in the thoughts of the ordinary adherents of Buddhism.

The apex of all the desires, the culminating point of all the ambition of the most religiously-minded Buddhists of the present day, point to a life in one of the heavens, while the great mass of the people aim only at escaping one of the hells, and elevating themselves to a higher condition of bodily existence in their next birth on this earth, and perhaps on that very part of this earth which is the scene of their present toils, joys and sorrows.

And now, in conclusion, let me say a few words in regard

to the Buddhist Code of Morality. It may be well asked, "How can any scheme of morality find a place in a system which makes all life and action proceed from ignorance and error, and even virtuous conduct the product of a mistake as leading to continuity of life in higher states of being?"

The inconsistency seems difficult of explanation, but it must be borne in mind that notwithstanding the constant insisting on the misery resulting from every form of existence, Gautama taught that the life of a virtuous man and life in heaven were better than a wicked life and a life in hell.

Hence accumulation of merit (*kuśala* or *punya* or *dharma*) by good actions, by the practice of morality, self-renunciation, meditation and almsgiving, according to the example set by the Buddha himself, was made an absolutely indispensable factor in securing a man's re-birth in higher corporeal forms, with a view to the attainment of perfect knowledge, perfect self-renunciation, and perfect deliverance from individual being at some future period.

Indeed, both Buddhism and Brāhmanism might be well summed up in a few words as schemes for the intense accumulation of self-righteousness, with a view to getting rid of self; but let it be clearly understood that the self to be got rid of is not the self spoken of in Christianity, but the self of individuality and continued personal conscious existence.

And of the two systems Buddhism is certainly entitled to the palm as the most perfect art of merit-making. For every Buddhist is like a trader who keeps a ledger, with a regular debtor and creditor account, and a daily entry of profit and loss.

He is forbidden to store up a money-balance in a worldly bank, but he is urged to be constantly accumulating a merit-balance in the bank of Karma.

To be righteous in a Christian sense, a man must be God-like, and to be righteous in a Buddhistic sense, a man must be Buddha-like; but the righteousness of the Buddhist is not the perfection of holiness, nor even the perfection of

self-enlightenment by the dissipation of ignorance. It is the perfection of merit-making, whereby the complete extinction of individual existence is achieved.

I do not, of course, mean to imply that the Buddhist system of morality is not of a very high order.

Often, indeed, it rises to the highest plane of Christian teaching, but the same can be said of the moral code existing among Brāhmans and Hindūs before the Buddha's time, and in nothing is the close connection between Buddhism and Brāhmanism better shown than in the moral precepts of these two systems which are sometimes nearly identical.

There is scarcely a sentiment in the Dhammapada and Sutta-nipāta which may not be matched by something similar in either Manu, the Epic poems, or the Nīti-sāstras of Sanskṛit literature.

Most certainly the highest morality of both Buddhists and Brāhmans has this in common, that both had an ultimate reference to their own interests, and that both inculcated doing good to others, with a view to laying up such a store of merit for themselves as might secure their own advancement in future states of corporeal existence.

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ART. IX.—*The Stories of Jimūtarāhana, and of Hariśarman.*

Translated by the Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM, M.R.A.S.

THE Buddhist legend of Jīmūtavāhana is related twice in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara, in the 22nd Tarāṅga, from which the following translation is made, as well as in the 90th Tarāṅga. The two versions of the legend differ somewhat in their treatment of the story, the latter version giving a fuller account of Jīmūtavāhana's courtship and home-life, at the same time omitting all account of his actions in a former birth, and their results. The legend has also been dramatised in the Nāgānanda, or Joy of the Snake World, a highly sensational drama, remarkable as being the only known existing drama commencing with an invocation to Buddha. The drama follows the lines of the legend as laid down in Tarāṅga 90.

THE STORY OF JĪMŪTAVĀHANA (*Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Tarāṅga 22, Śloka 16).

A mountain called the Snowclad on this earth  
 Uprears its mighty form, the chief of hills,  
 Father of Parvatī,—of Gaurī's spouse  
 The spiritual head. In that great mount,  
 The home of the Vidyādharaś, once dwelt  
 Their lord, Jīmūtaketu. To his house  
 Belonged a “wishing tree,” the legacy  
 Of his forefathers, from its nature called  
 “The giver of desires.” Then the king  
 One day approached that heaven-sent tree and said,  
 In supplicating tones : “O deity !

Who ever grantest all we ask or seek,  
Give me, I pray thee, now, a virtuous son,  
For I am childless." " King," replied the tree,  
" Thy prayer is granted, thou shalt have a son ;  
Within his mind shall dwell the memory  
Of former births ; he shall be liberal,  
The lover of all creatures." Then the king,  
Filled with delight, in adoration bowed  
Before the tree, and straightway to his Queen  
Bore the glad tidings. Soon a son was born,  
And to the boy the father gave the name  
Jimûtavâhana. As time went on  
The youth increased in stature, while the love  
Which filled his inmost nature, step by step,  
Grew with his outward form. At last, the prince,  
Proclaimed Successor to his father's crown,  
Filled with compassion for all living things  
That move upon this earth, in secret spoke,  
And thus addressed his father, who with joy  
Heard his son's words. " Surely I know full well  
That all things perish : nothing on the earth  
Has an abiding place ; one thing alone,—  
The glory of the virtuous, replete  
With purity,—though countless ages pass,  
Shall never fail. If men of noble mind  
Have gained renown by showering kindnesses  
On others, more than life, far more than wealth,  
They value that fair glory. As for us—  
If our good fortune—our prosperity—  
Be for ourselves alone, nor overflow  
On the less fortunate, then like a flash  
Of lightning shall our fortune pass away,  
And vanish into air. This ' Wishing tree '  
Grants all that we desire ; if, then, we pray  
The tree to pour its blessings o'er the world,  
Nor keep them selfishly,—then shall its fruit  
Be ours indeed. So let me supplicate  
The wishing tree that by its boundless wealth

The multitudes of men, who pass their lives  
 In poverty, may be relieved." Thus spoke  
 Jimūtavāhana : gladly his sire  
 Assented, and the youth invoked the tree.  
 "O Bounteous tree ! The giver of all good  
 To us ; fulfil this day our earnest prayer ;  
 Banish from earth all want and poverty.  
 Hail to thee ! friendly one ! Thou hast been sent  
 To bless the world with wealth, therefore I pray  
 Bestow on men the wealth that they desire."

In answer to Jimūtavāhana  
 The self-denying one, the tree-sent down  
 Gold in abundant showers on the earth,  
 While all mankind rejoiced. Who could have bent  
 The wishing tree to carry out his will  
 And rain down plenty, even though he were  
 Incarnate Wisdom, but the glorious  
 Jimūtavāhana ? Therefore to him  
 Were all the regions of the earth fast bound  
 By ties of gratitude, and o'er the heav'n  
 His spotless fame extended far and wide.  
 Then the relations of the King uprose,—  
 Even of King Jimūtaketu,—full  
 Of hatred, since the throne was firmly fixed  
 By his son's glory ; and their minds they set  
 To overcome that place wherein the tree,  
 The giver of all blessings, grew,—a place  
 Unfortified, easy to be o'ercome.  
 Therefore they met together, fully bent  
 On war. Then said Jimūtavāhana,  
 Calm and composed, " Father ! this life of ours  
 Is even as a bubble on the stream.  
 Why should we then desire prosperity ?  
 For even as a lamp, whose tongue of flame  
 Flickers before the wind, so among men  
 Is fortune. Who could ever hope to gain  
 (If he were wise at least) prosperity  
 From other's harm or death ? I will not fight

With kinsmen ; I will rather leave my realm  
 And dwell within the forest. Let them be !  
 We will not slay these miserable men,  
 Our brothers and our kin.” His father said,  
 Firmly resolved in mind : “ I, too, my son !  
 Will go with you, for I am old and grey,  
 And how should love for power abide in me  
 Since thou, all young and vigorous, hast cast  
 Thy realm aside, as though it were but straw,  
 Through love and pity ? ” Thus the King approved  
 Jimūtavāhana’s advice, and left  
 His realm, departing with his wife and son  
 To Mount Malaya. There the youth abode  
 Within a grove, the Siddha’s dwelling-place,  
 Where trees of sandal shadowed o’er the brooks,  
 Making his father’s life his chiefest care.  
 And while he sojourned there, the Siddha prince,  
 One Mitrāvasu, took him as a friend,  
 Whose maiden sister in a former birth  
 Had loved Jimūtavāhana. He saw,  
 And filled with perfect wisdom knew again  
 The damsel he had loved. Their mutual glance,  
 Like the frail meshes of the net which holds  
 The captive deer, ensnared each other’s souls.

One day the Siddha prince, his countenance  
 Beaming with joy, in sudden thought addressed  
 Jimūtavāhana, whom the three worlds  
 Adored : “ A younger sister dwells with me,  
 Called Malayavatī : to thee I give  
 The maiden ; O ! do not refuse my gift ! ”  
 Then spoke Jimūtavāhana, and said :  
 “ Prince ! in a former birth she was my wife,  
 Thou too my friend, even as dear to me  
 As my own heart ; to me is given the power  
 Of calling back to mind births past and gone.”  
 Then Mitrāvasu said : “ Tell me, I pray,  
 The story of thy former births, I long  
 To hear it.” And Jimūtavāhana,

Loving towards all creatures, answeréd :  
 " Hear then my tale : Once in a former birth  
 As a Vidyâdhara, flying through space,  
 I passed Himâlaya, whose lofty peaks  
 Shone forth beneath me, and I was beheld  
 By Śiva, sporting with his spouse. The god  
 Enraged, because my towering flight  
 Bore me above him, with a curse pronounced  
 This sentence on me : ' In the world of men  
 In mortal guise thou shalt be born : a wife  
 From the Vidyâdharas thou shalt obtain.  
 Thou shalt appoint thy son to occupy  
 Thy room, and then once more remembering  
 Thy former birth, thou shalt again be born  
 As a Vidyâdhara.' Thus Śiva spoke,  
 Yet while he cursed, foretelling too the end  
 Of his Anathema, and disappeared.  
 Soon after, in a merchant's family  
 I entered human form, and lived the son  
 Of a rich trader in a city named  
 Vallabhî : Vasudatta was the name  
 Bestowed on me. Time passed ; to manhood grown,  
 My father sent me forth, a retinue  
 Of servants following, to some far land  
 To traffic. On my journey, I was seized  
 By robbers in a forest ; stripped of all  
 My merchandise, they loaded me with chains  
 And dragged me to their village, to the shrine  
 Of Durgâ, where a silken banner waved,  
 Crimson and long, like as it were the tongue  
 Of Death, all eagerness to lick the blood  
 Of living things. Then to Pulindaka,  
 Their chief, they brought me, who was worshipping  
 Before the goddess, that within her shrine  
 I might be offered as a sacrifice.  
 He saw me, and although a Savara,  
 At once he felt his heart within him melt  
 In pity for my fate ; a causeless love

Which seems to spring unbidden in the heart  
Tells us of friendship in a former birth.  
Thus was I saved from slaughter by the King,  
Who, still intent upon the sacrifice,  
Prepared to make the offering of himself,  
And so complete the rite. But while he thought  
Thereon, a voice from heaven said : 'O king !  
Hurt not thyself ! Ask of me what thou wilt,  
It shall be granted thee, for thou hast been  
Approved of me.' Then filled with joy the king  
Replied : 'Since thou, O goddess, hast approved  
My deeds, what should I further need ? but yet—  
One thing I ask of thee : in births to come,  
May love between me and the merchant's son  
Ever remain unchanged.' 'It shall be so,'  
Answered the goddess. Then the Savara  
Restored me to my home loaded with wealth.  
My father, seeing that I had returned  
From a far-distant land, the jaws of death  
Barely escaped, held a great festival  
To do me honour. Then I saw again  
After some time had passed the Savara chief  
Led in a prisoner before the king  
For sentence and for punishment : his crime  
The plunder of a caravan. Straightway  
I told my father, and I prayed the king  
To spare the Savara. My prayer was heard  
And with a mighty sum of gold I saved  
The Savara chief from death. Thus I repaid  
His benefits, and to my own abode  
I brought him home, and long I tended him  
With loving care. After a time he turned  
Departing to his village, while his heart  
Tender with love was fixed upon me still.  
And then he roamed the earth, seeking a gift  
Worthy the kindnesses which I had showed  
Towards him. As he wandered here and there,  
He saw a lake before him, on its banks

A woman riding on a lion, young  
 And beautiful. The Savara, amazed,  
 Thought thus within himself. ‘Who may this be ?  
 Is she a mortal ? How then does she ride  
 Upon a lion ? Can she be divine ?  
 But if a goddess, how should such as I  
 Behold her ? Surely clad in human form  
 I see her as the merit which I gained  
 In former births. Oh ! could I only win  
 Her for my friend in marriage,—then indeed  
 I should bestow on him a just reward  
 For all his benefits.’ The Savara,  
 Thus thinking in himself, respectfully  
 Advanced to greet the maiden, who returned  
 His salutation. ‘Who art thou ?’ she said  
 ‘Why hast thou come to this far-distant land ?’  
 ‘I am a Savara prince,’ he made reply,  
 ‘Lo ! I am seeking treasure in this wood,  
 And at the sight of thee I called to mind  
 The friend who saved my life, the merchant’s son.  
 Matchless is he in youth and comeliness,  
 A very fount of nectar to the world,  
 Even as thou art. Fortunate the lot  
 Of that fair maid who shall bestow her hand  
 On one so full of generosity,  
 So full of love, of patience, of compassion.  
 If this surpassing lovely form of thine  
 Should fail of such a destiny, Alas !  
 Then Kâma bears indeed his bow in vain.’  
 The maiden’s mind by these enticing words  
 Was borne away, as though the spells of love  
 Bewildered her. ‘Where is this friend of thine ?’  
 She said, under love’s prompting. ‘Bring him here !  
 That I may see him.’ ‘Even so,’ replied  
 The Savara, and full of joy returned  
 To seek his friend, thinking his object gained.  
 Then bringing with him treasures—pearls and musk,  
 He came to our abode, and entering in,

While all our house saluted him, he gave  
My sire the present, worth a mighty sum  
Of gold. After the day and following night  
Had passed in feasting, then the Savara  
Took me aside, and told me privately  
The story of the maiden ; and to me,  
Full of excitement at the tale, he said,  
'Come there with me, my friend !' When nightfall came,  
The Savara departed, bearing me  
Along with him. And when the morning light  
Shone forth, my father knew that I had gone  
Together with the Savara prince ; but yet,  
Confiding in the prince's love for me,  
He felt no grief. And I, as time went on,  
Journeyed towards Himâlaya ; the prince  
Tending me on the way with loving care.  
At length, one evening, we beheld the lake  
Before our eyes, and in the forest bounds  
We tarried all that night, eating the fruits  
Which grew within the wood,—that lovely wood  
Wherein the ground was strewed with creeper flowers,  
While all the air resounded with the hum  
Of bees : sweet gentle breezes blew,—the herbs  
Sent forth a gleaming light even like lamps.  
And then all night we rested in that wood—  
The chamber of delight. Next day the maid,  
Riding upon the lion, like the moon  
Resting upon an autumn cloud, drew near.  
As she approached, my mind at every step  
Flew as it were to meet her, and the prince,  
Advancing tow'rds her, said in courteous tones :—  
'Goddess ! I offer thee my dearest friend,  
Accept him as thy bridegroom.' 'Bring thy friend  
Hither,' she answered, and with eyes of love  
She glanced at me approaching her, and said,  
'This friend of thine must surely be a god !  
No mortal has so beautiful a form.'  
'Fair one ! I am a mortal,' I replied.

‘ A merchant’s son, who dwells in Vallabhi.  
 My father by the favour of the god  
 Who wears upon his head the crescent moon  
 Received me as his son.’ Then said the maid,  
 Her eyes cast down through modesty, ‘ The god  
 Hath now fulfilled his promise ; for he deigned  
 To tell me in a dream, “ To-morrow’s sun  
 Shall show thy spouse to thee.” Lo ! here I find  
 In thee my husband.’ Thus she charmed my mind  
 With speech of nectar sweetness. Then the wood  
 We quitted, journeying homewards that the rites  
 Of marriage might be duly solemnized ;  
 And mounted on the lion, in my arms  
 Holding the maiden, we reached Vallabhî.  
 Then lo ! with wonder filled the people ran  
 To tell my father ; marvelling, he came  
 To greet me. When he saw the gracefulness  
 And beauty of the maiden, and perceived  
 How fitly I had chosen her, his heart  
 Rejoiced, and to our marriage feast he called  
 Her friends and relatives. Thus she became  
 My spouse, and all my life was filled with peace  
 And happiness, blessed with a virtuous wife.  
 At length, as time went by, old age crept on,  
 And I, feeling disgust for earthly things  
 And weariness of life, I made my son  
 The ruler of my kingdom. Then I turned,  
 Casting aside my royal state, and went  
 Into the forest. There intense desire  
 To leave this mortal frame possessed my mind.  
 Therefore I meditated on the deity  
 And from the mountain side I threw myself  
 Down headlong. So I quitted life. Now born  
 Again into the world, thou seest me  
 Jimûtavâhana. To me belongs  
 The recollection of my former births.  
 Thou Mitrâvasu art the Savara prince,  
 And this thy sister, Malayavatî,

Is that same damsel born again, whom I,  
 The merchant's son, chose in my former birth  
 To be my bride. Therefore 'tis right and good  
 That I should marry her. First do thou go  
 And tell my parents: truly shalt thou gain  
 Thy whole desire." When Mitrâvasu heard  
 The story of Jimûtavâhana,  
 He told his parents, who were filled with joy,  
 And gave their daughter Malayavati  
 In marriage to Jimûtavâhana,  
 And the pair dwelt in great prosperity  
 And happiness upon Malaya's mount.  
 Once on a time Jimûtavâhana  
 Was wandering amid the woods that gird  
 The shore; and in that place he saw a man  
 Fearful and trembling; and with loud lament  
 His mother followed, while the man would turn  
 And bid his mother leave him, but with tears  
 She never ceased to follow him. Behind  
 The pair there followed one in soldier's garb,  
 Who led the man up to a lofty rock  
 And left him. Then Jimûtavâhana  
 Spoke to the man and said, "Tell me, I pray,  
 Who art thou? Why does this thy mother weep  
 For thee." Then said the man, "In bygone times  
 Kadrû and Vinatâ, Kâsyapa's wives,  
 Held a dispute. The horses of the sun  
 Were black," so one declared,—the other said  
 That they were white. The one who erred should serve  
 The other as a slave. Thus each agreed.  
 The subtle-minded Kadrû, fully bent  
 On victory, induced her sons the snakes  
 To send forth showers of venom o'er the steeds;  
 And then she showed them all defiled and black  
 To Vinatâ. So by an artifice  
 Was Vinatâ o'ercome and made a slave.  
 How terrible is woman's spite which wreaks  
 Vengeance upon its kind. Then came the son

Of Vinatâ, Garuda, and he begged  
 His mother. Then the sons of Kadrû said,  
 ‘Garuda ! lo ! the gods have now begun  
 To churn the sea of milk. If thou wilt bring  
 The nectar from that sea, O mighty chief,  
 And give it us, thou shalt indeed redeem  
 Thy mother from her bonds of slavery.’  
 Then to the sea of milk Garuda went,  
 And showed his mighty power, if by that means  
 He might obtain the nectar. Vishnû, pleased  
 With that display of might, exclaimed, ‘Indeed  
 Thou hast delighted me ! Ask what thou wilt,  
 And I will give it thee.’ Garuda, wroth,  
 Because his mother had been made a slave,  
 Replied, ‘I pray thee may the snakes become  
 My food.’ The god assented. So he gained  
 The nectar by his valour, and a boon  
 From Vishnû. As Garuda turned to go,  
 There met him Indra. ‘King of birds !’ he said,  
 ‘I know thine errand; may thy power and might  
 Restraine these foolish snakes lest they consume  
 The nectar; and enable me to take  
 It from them.’ When Garuda heard these words,  
 He willingly complied, and to the snakes  
 Bearing the nectar in his hand he went,  
 Rejoicing in the thought of Vishnû’s boon ;  
 Then standing at a distance, he addressed  
 The snakes, filled with alarm at Vishnû’s gift :—  
 ‘Here is the nectar, lo ! I bring it you,  
 Take it,—release my mother ; if you fear  
 My power, I will place it on a bed  
 Of Darbha grass ; and when you have restored  
 My mother I will go, and you can take  
 The nectar thence.’ All willingly the snakes  
 Assented, and upon a sacred bed  
 Of Kuâ grass, Garuda placed the bowl  
 Of nectar, and departed, having freed  
 His mother. Then the snakes approached to taste

The nectar, but with sudden swoop from heaven  
 The mighty Indra fell, and bore away  
 The nectar from its bed of Darbha grass.  
 Then in despair the serpents licked the grass,  
 One single drop of nectar may remain  
 (They thought) upon the grass; and thus their tongues  
 Were split, and they became all double-tongued,  
 Nor gainéd aught. What can the greedy hope  
 To gain but ridicule? And so the snakes  
 Failed to obtain the nectar, while their foe,  
 Garuda, fell upon them, and began,  
 Strong in the gift of Vishṇu, to devour  
 Them up. And all the snakes in Pātāla  
 Were dead with fear, the females cast their young,  
 Over the serpent race destruction seemed  
 To hang. Then Vāsuki, the serpent King,  
 Seeing his enemy come day by day,  
 Foresaw the ruin of the serpent world,  
 And as a suppliant to Garuda said :  
 ‘O mighty one! whose power and majesty  
 Are past resisting, as each day goes by  
 One serpent will I send thee, king of birds,  
 And on that sandy hill, hard by the sea,  
 My offering shalt thou find: nor enter thou  
 Pātāla day by day, destroying all  
 The serpent race; for then thy life  
 Will lose its object.’ Thus spoke Vāsuki.  
 Garuda to his words assented. In this place  
 Each day he eats the snake Vāsuki sends.  
 So have innumerable serpents met  
 Their death. I am a serpent too. My name  
 Is Śankachūda, and my time is come  
 To furnish forth a meal. The serpent King  
 Has therefore sent me to this rock of death,  
 Whither my mother follows me with tears  
 And lamentations sore.” Then grief possessed  
 Jimūtavāhana, and thus he spoke:  
 “ Ah! but a coward is that king of thine!

He offers to his enemy as food  
 The people of his realm ! Why did he not  
 First offer up himself ? Oh, base thy King !  
 Since he the overthrow of all his race  
 Unmoved can witness. Ah ! how great a sin !  
 Garuda too commits. Lo ! mighty sins  
 Do even mighty men commit, impelled  
 By selfish greediness. Cheer up, my friend !  
 I will deliver thee, surrendering  
 My body to Garuda." " Mighty one ! "  
 Responded Śankachūda ; " This be far  
 From thee ! Thou wouldest not destroy a gem  
 To save a bit of glass. Never will I  
 Endure that foul disgrace through me should fall  
 Upon my race." Thus tried he to dissuade  
 Jimūtavāhana, and to the shrine  
 Of Śiva went, thinking his time was come,  
 To offer adoration to the god.  
 And then indeed Jimūtavāhana,  
 Of pity and compassion, as it were,  
 The very treasure house—thought that the chance  
 Had come, by offering of himself, to save  
 The serpent's life. Therefore he quickly sent  
 Mitrāvasu away, on some pretence.  
 Then came Garuda, and immediately  
 The earth began to tremble at the wind  
 Of his advancing wings, as though it shook  
 In wonder at the steadfast bravery  
 Of the great-minded one. Then rose in haste  
 Jimūtavāhana, and filled with love  
 For living things, mounted upon the rock  
 Of death, knowing the quaking earth foretold  
 The advent of Garuda. Then swooped down  
 The serpent's enemy—the heavens grew dark  
 At his dread shadow, and he bore away  
 Jimūtavāhana, while drops of blood  
 Flowed from the hero, and his jewelled crest  
 Fell to the ground, torn by Garuda's beak.

And flying to the topmost mountain peak,  
 The king of birds began to eat his prey.  
 Then instantly there fell from heaven a rain  
 Of flowers, while Garuda at the sight  
 Was filled with wonder. Soon this snake returned  
 Fresh from Gokarna's shrine, and when he saw  
 The rock of death wet with the drops of blood,  
 "Surely the mighty-minded one, (he thought)  
 Has offered up his life to ransom mine.  
 Oh, whither has Garuda borne him hence ?  
 Lo ! I will search for him, it may so chance  
 That I may find him." Following the track  
 Left by the drops of blood, the serpent went.  
 Meanwhile Garuda with amazement saw  
 That gladness filled Jimutavahana.  
 He ceased to eat him, and within himself  
 He thought :—"Who can this be ? This must be one  
 To whom I have no right ; for misery  
 Has no abode within his constant mind.  
 Lo ! he rejoices in his fate !" Then said  
 Jimutavahana, upon his aim  
 Intent :—"O King of birds ! there still remains  
 Within my body flesh and blood : I pray  
 Why hast thou ceased to feed upon my form,  
 Seeing thy hunger is not satisfied ?"  
 Filled with astonishment, the King of birds  
 Ceased from his meal, and said, "O ! mighty one !  
 Surely thou art no snake ; I pray thee, say,  
 Who art thou ?" Then Jimutavahana  
 (His answer just begun, "I am a snake !  
 Eat me, I pray, for men of constant mind  
 With perseverance carry through the task  
 They have in hand,") heard from afar the voice  
 Of Sankachuda, "King of birds ! desist !  
 I am the snake prepared for thee ! Alas !  
 How camest thou in recklessness and haste  
 To err so grievously ?" Confusion seized  
 Garuda, and Jimutavahana

Was overcome with grief, for his desire  
 Had fled, all unfulfilled. At last the truth  
 Was clear before Garuda, and he knew  
 His prey was not a serpent, but the king  
 Of the Vidyâdhara. Then deepest pain  
 Possessed his mind. "Alas! my cruelty!"  
 He said; "What sin has that brought forth in me?  
 How easily does sin lay hold on those  
 Who follow after sin! This noble one  
 Who for another's good has sacrificed  
 Himself, despising this illusive world,  
 Nor fears my power—all honour be to him,  
 And praise unceasing!" Then the king of birds,  
 To purify himself, into the flames  
 Was rushing headlong. "King of birds," exclaimed  
 Jimûtavâhana, "Do not despair!  
 If thou wouldest truly turn from guilt—repent!  
 Slay no more serpents for thy food—repent  
 Of those which thou didst eat in times gone by;  
 So shalt thou find a remedy for guilt,  
 None other may avail." The king of birds  
 Heard and rejoiced, determined to repent,  
 Obedient to Jimûtavâhana  
 As to a ghostly father. Then to heaven  
 He went to bring down nectar, to revive  
 The wounded prince, and to restore to life  
 The serpents who had perished, and whose bones  
 Alone were left. Then Gaurî came from heaven  
 In human form, and on the mighty one  
 She poured forth showers of nectar: and his limbs,  
 Renewed in greater beauty than before,  
 Were given back to him, while through the sky  
 The heavenly music rang, and all the gods  
 Rejoiced. Garuda, too, returned from heaven,  
 Bearing the nectar; and along the shore  
 He sprinkled the life-giving drops. And lo!  
 The serpents that had perished, once again  
 Rose up, clothed with the forms that they had worn

In life, and filled that forest by the shore—  
 Crowds upon crowds of serpents pressing on ;—  
 It seemed even as though the serpent world,  
 Forgetting their dread enemy, had come  
 To see and honour their deliverer.  
 And round Jimūtavāhana his friends,  
 His wife, his parents, clustered, and they praised  
 Him for his glory, and undying fame.  
 Could aught but triumph reign in word or thought  
 Since joy had banished pain. Then to his home,  
 Together with his wife, and friend, and son,  
 Jimūtavāhana, compassionate  
 Towards all living things, departing, reigned  
 The sovereign lord of the Vidyādhara.

THE STORY OF HARIŚARMAN (*Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Tarāṅga  
 30, Śloka 92).

Once on a time within a certain town  
 There lived a Brāhmaṇa ; he was very poor,  
 And foolish too. Moreover, he had naught  
 Wherewith to earn a livelihood ; his case  
 Was altogether very bad. Besides he had  
 No end of children ; thus the deity  
 Would punish him for all the wicked deeds  
 Committed in some former life. So then  
 The Brāhmaṇa (Hariśarman was his name)  
 Wandered about, with all his family,  
 To beg for alms : and in his wanderings  
 He chanced upon a village. There he stayed,  
 And in a rich householder's family  
 He entered into service. While his sons  
 Tended the cows, and kept their master's goods,  
 His wife served him, and in a dwelling near  
 He lived himself, performing day by day  
 The tasks appointed in his master's house.

One day the daughter of the householder  
 Was married, and a mighty feast was made,  
 And friends from far and near invited came.  
 Then was the Brâhman pleased, because he thought  
 That he would cram himself up to the throat  
 With dainties; but no one remembered him  
 Nor asked him to the feast. When night had come,  
 Filled with distress because his hopes had failed,  
 He called his wife to him:—"Stupid," he said,  
 "And poor am I: men therefore with disdain  
 Put me aside: now by an artifice  
 Will I deceive them, and I shall appear  
 Wise and discerning. This must be your part  
 To tell my master, when you have the chance,  
 That I am learned in magic art. Respect  
 Shall then be paid me." So a plan he formed  
 And secretly by night he stole the horse  
 On which the bridegroom rode. When morning came,  
 The bridegroom's men searched far and near, but found  
 Him not, for Hariśarman had concealed  
 The horse in some far-distant place. Then came  
 The Brâhman's wife and said, "Why not consult  
 My husband? for he knows astrology  
 And all the sciences. Lo! he will find  
 The horse for you." Therefore the householder  
 Sent messengers to ask the Brâhman's help.  
 Then Hariśarman said, "To-day the horse  
 Is stolen, and you call me to your house,  
 'Twas only yesterday, I was ignored."  
 "I pray thee, pardon," said the householder,  
 "Indeed we did forget:"—with such like words  
 He turned aside the Brâhman's wrath, and said,  
 "Tell me, where is the horse?" The Brâhman drew  
 Elaborate diagrams, and feigned to make  
 Deep calculations. "You will find the horse  
 (At last he said) in such and such a place,  
 Be quick and fetch him home, before the thieves  
 Convey him further." Then they went and found

The horse and brought him back, praising the skill  
 Of Hariśarman. All men honoured him  
 And took him for a sage. It came to pass  
 After some time the palace of the king  
 Was entered by a thief, who carried off  
 Jewels and gold. Now Hariśarman's fame  
 Had reached the royal ears, therefore the king  
 Sent for the Brāhmaṇa. He, when, summoned came,  
 But gave no answer, trying to evade  
 The question. "When to-morrow comes," he said,  
 "An answer I will give you." Then the king  
 Locked Hariśarman up within a room  
 And placed a watch. Filled with despondency,  
 The Brāhmaṇa thought but little would avail  
 All his pretended wisdom. In that place  
 There was a maid called Jihvā; it so chanced  
 That she, helped by her brother, was the thief.  
 This maid, o'ercome with terror at the skill  
 Of Hariśarman, listened at the door  
 By night, intent on finding out, if possible,  
 What he might be about. Just at that time  
 The Brāhmaṇa, who was in the room alone,  
 Taking to task his tongue, which had assumed  
 To know that which it knew not, said :—"Alas !  
 O Jihvā !<sup>1</sup> What is this that thou hast done  
 Through lust of pleasure ? Evil one ! Endure  
 Thy punishment." The servant, terrified,  
 Thought that her crime was known, and entering in,  
 Fell at the Brāhmaṇa's feet, whom she supposed  
 To have all knowledge, and she said :—"O Sir !  
 'Tis true ! I am the thief ! I Jihvā stole  
 The gold and jewels, and I buried them  
 Under the roots of a pomegranate tree  
 Behind the palace. Take the gold I pray  
 Which I have left, and spare me, I confess  
 My crime." When Hariśarman heard these words,

<sup>1</sup> Jihvā means 'tongue,' as well as being a proper name.

He said with haughtiness : " I know all this !  
 Depart ! The future, past, and present lie  
 Within my ken ; but I will not denounce  
 You as the thief, because you are a wretch  
 Who have implored my mercy. Bring to me  
 Whatever gold you have." Without delay  
 The maid departed. Then the Brâhman thought  
 In wonder : " That which seemed impossible  
 Fate has accomplished, as it were in sport,—  
 Fate well disposed to me. Calamity  
 Seemed close at hand, but yet I have attained  
 Success beyond my hopes. I blamed my tongue,  
 The cause of all my ills, when suddenly  
 Before my very feet Jihvâ the thief  
 Falls prostrate. Secret crimes are brought to light  
 (This I perceive) by fear." With thoughts like these  
 He passed the night rejoicing. Morning dawned,  
 And then, he led the king, with much pretence  
 Of wisdom, to the garden where the gold  
 Had been concealed. Showing him what remained,  
 He said the thief had carried part away.  
 Then was the king delighted, and he gave  
 To Hariśarman honours and rewards.  
 But Devajnânin, the chief minister,  
 Said to the king in private, whispering  
 Into his ear : " How should a man possess  
 Knowledge like this, which ordinary men  
 May not attain, seeing his ignorance.  
 He knows naught of the Śastras,—of the books  
 Treating of science. So you may be sure  
 He has a secret partnership with thieves,  
 And makes his living by dishonest means.  
 Try him again by some new artifice—  
 And test his wisdom." To this scheme the king  
 Gladly assented, and he placed a frog  
 Within a covered pitcher, newly bought,  
 And said to Hariśarman, " Tell me now,  
 What is within this pitcher ? If you guess

Aright, then will I honour you indeed."

The Brâhman heard these words, and thought his end  
Had come at length ; then rose within his mind  
The name of " frog," by which in sportiveness  
His father used to call him ; suddenly,  
Impelled by some divinity, he spoke,  
Lamenting his untimely fate, and said,  
Addressing thus himself, " Poor little frog !  
Surely this pitcher is the overthrow  
Of all your hopes, for on you in this place  
Destruction swiftly falls." Then all who heard  
The Brâhman's words, with loud applause exclaimed,  
" Indeed, a mighty sage ! he even saw  
Within the pitcher." Then, indeed, the king,  
Thinking that Hariśarman's skill was due  
To magic art, gave to him villages  
And wealth, and outward marks of royal state.  
The humble Brâhman thus became a prince.

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**ART. X.—*The Geographical Distribution of the Modern Túrki Languages.*** By M. A. MORRISON, Esq., Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society in South Russia.

Communicated by R. N. CUST, Esq., Hon. Secretary R.A.S., with a Note, Table of Authorities, and a Language-Map.

THE task to which I address myself in this paper is the geographical distribution of the Túrki languages. But before doing so it might be well to glance at the whole Ugro-Altaic family, in order to determine the position of the Túrki Branch in this great division of the languages of the human race.

Broadly speaking, but with sufficient accuracy, the Ugro-Altaic languages are spoken over a region extending through more than 100 degrees of longitude, from the shores of the Adriatic to the Great Wall of China and the plateau of Tibet, and through 35 degrees of latitude, from the frozen steppes of Samoyéd and Yakút to the plains of Northern Persia and the head-waters of the Indus.

These languages, spoken over this vast portion of the earth's surface, are, for philological purposes, divided into five distinct Branches. They are :

1. Finn.
2. Samoyéd.
3. Mánchu.
4. Mongól.
5. Túrki.

With the details of the various languages which compose the first four Branches I have nothing to do at present. A few broad outlines, however, descriptive of their geographical position, may be found useful.

I. *Finn.* This group is almost altogether confined to

Europe. Its four sub-branches are the Ugric, Finn proper, Volga-Finn, and Perm-Finn. With the single exception of the Magyar, one of the languages of the Ugric sub-branch, all these sub-branches are confined to the north of Russia, viz. to Lapland, Finland, Livonia, Esthonia, part of Kúrland, the northern banks of the Volga and the region between this well-watered district and the territory of the Samoyéd.

II. *Samoyéd* represents the semi-barbarous tribes inhabiting the inhospitable shores of the Arctic Ocean from the Gulf of Kandalak to the river Obi.

III. *Mánchu* is divided into three sub-branches : *Mánchu* proper, occupying the country known as Manchúria, north of Koréa ; *Túngús*, spoken in a compact district around Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk ; and *Lamut*, spoken by tribes leading a hard life in the district watered by the Upper Lena.

The *Mongol* Branch is spoken by a population altogether nomad. Its home is Mongolia ; but immense bodies of Mongols are found in almost all parts of Central Asia and Southern Russia, from the Sea of Azov to Manchúria. The Mongol who inhabit the south-eastern steppes of Russia are known generally as *Kalmük*.

I now come to the fifth Branch, of which it is the object of this paper to give some more detailed account.

This Branch, for philological purposes, may be divided into five sub-branches, as follows :

1. *Túrki* proper.
2. *Nogai*.
3. *Uigúr*.
4. *Kirghíz*.
5. *Yakút*.

Each of the sub-Branches is distinct from the other, and contains its own Languages. A few general remarks on the linguistic aspect of these sub-Branches may be a useful preface to my remarks on their geographical distribution.

1. *Phonetics.* (A) There is an endless variety in the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants. There is hardly a single letter of the alphabet that has the same value in any

two of the fourteen languages. We have here in this section of Túrki linguistics an immense field for research.

(B) The words are very few which are pronounced alike in all the languages. To illustrate what I say take the word 'still' or 'yet.' We have *dakhee*, *daukhee*, *d'ha*, *taghee*, *tagee*, *taagee*, *tagen*, *tagenda*, *dagee*, *daagee*, *dagen*, *thagee*, and *da*, in all thirteen varieties. There are more than ten forms for 'till' and seven for 'is.' A comparative dictionary of these Túrki Languages would be a useful work.

2. *Word-Store.* Some verbs are common to several Languages, but derivatives of these verbs may not be common to the same Language. The same applies to words built on substantives and adjectives.

3. *Structure.* I cannot say that in the matter of structure there is any radical difference in the Túrki Languages. The same general rules run through them all. Every sentence, for instance, in every one of the Languages must end with its predicate. There are doubtless certain differences in the formation of the dative and accusative terminations in several Languages, in the comparison of the adjective, in *nominis actionis*, in participles, in pronouns, and in the formation of gerundial forms from the verbs, but there is nothing radical separating any one of the Languages from the rest of its cognates.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

It will be more convenient if, instead of taking each of the five sub-branches and treating it in its entirety, I were to consider each Language in Geographical order, beginning in the west and moving eastwards, and indicating to which of the sub-branches the Language belongs.

##### i. *Nogai.*

The Nogai proper belongs to the Nogai sub-Branch. The tribes speaking it number about 190,000. The most westerly point that they have reached is the Russian province of Bessarabia, where they occupy about twenty villages. They

are found all over the Crimea, settled in good villages and following agricultural pursuits with great success. Villages of Nogai are traced thence along the banks of the Kúban and Kúma, and on the steppes lying to the north of the great Caucasus chain. The Bezian, inhabiting the pasture district north of Mount Elburz, are included in the Nogai. A few nomad Nogai are still found north of the Volga at Astrakhan, their ancient territory, tending their flocks on the great Kirghíz steppe. Nogai is the name of one of the great Uzbek clans; and without doubt the Nogai are an offshoot of this dominant family. Any western Túrki travelling in Central Asia is called a Nogai. This Language has been most erroneously styled the Karass. Karass is an insignificant German colony in the Stavropol government of Cis-Caucasia, in which a Scotch Missionary translated a portion of the Scriptures into Nogai. Hence the appellation Karass.

### ii. *Osmánli.*

The Geographical position of this, the most cultivated and best known of the Túrki Languages, is so familiar to every one that I need only say it is spoken by the ruling classes in the Ottoman Empire, and the population of Asia Minor. It belongs to the Túrki sub-branch.

### iii. *Kumük, or Kumik, or Kumian.*

This is the Language spoken by the Kumük tribes inhabiting the north-west shore of the Caspian near Petrovsk, and the north-east districts of Daghestan, watered by the Aksai and Sunja rivers. It is also found spoken on the river Terek, a little higher than Kizliar. The Kumük number about 70,000, and are now a peaceable race, learning to till the soil, and availing themselves of the schools which the Russian Government has placed among them. Their Language is closely related to that of the Nogai, and is placed in the Nogai sub-Branch.

iv. *Kasán.*

The Language of Kasán is another member of the Nogai sub-Branch. As its name implies, it is chiefly spoken in the province of Kasán on the Volga. There are also a number of scattered communities speaking this language in the province of Simbirsk, south of Kasán. It is corrupt, not only possessing, like almost all its congeners, a good many Arabic and Persian words and constructions, but also borrowing words from the Finn Languages. The population speaking this Language numbers about 200,000.

v. *Chuwásh.*

Belongs to the Túrki sub-Branch. The district now inhabited by the Chuwásh was formerly a part of the Kiptchak territory. It stretches along both sides of the Volga, but chiefly on the left bank, and forms part of the modern government of Nijnii Novgorod, Kasán, Simbirsk, Viatka, and Orenburg. The Chuwásh are most thickly settled in the south-west of the government of Kasán; in the other governments they are more scattered. They number about 450,000. Although this Language is wedged in between two distinctly Finn Languages, the Mordvín and the Chéremiss, it is clearly Túrki. It is indeed true that it contains many Ugric and Samoyéd forms, but the Altaïc element is decidedly in the ascendant. This is put beyond dispute by Schott in his 'La Langue des Tschouwaches.'

vi. *Azerbijáni or Trans-Caucasian.*

I now cross the main ridge of the Caucasus, and come in contact with another Túrki Language, the Azerbijáni or Trans-Caucasian. It is the language of an important settled population in Trans-Caucasia and North-West Persia, numbering over 3,000,000. Here we find the descendants of the old Kizil-Bashi. In large districts of Georgia, in Shirwán, and Karadagh, on the Western Caspian coast from Resht to Derbent, in the Sirdarlic of Eriván, in the Persian provinces

of Azerbiján, Ghilan, and Mazándaran, this is the vernacular. It is a peculiar and corrupt form. For philologists it has none of the value of the more archaic languages, e.g. the Uigúr. German missionaries, stationed in Shusha, about the year 1830, were the first to reduce to paper its grammatical principles. In this they were assisted by a most able Armenian linguist, Mirza Ferúkh.

### vii. *Bashkir.*

Again going north to Astrakhan on the Volga delta, we enter the country of the Bashkír. If we draw a line from Astrakhan north-east to Orenburg, and thence due north to Ufa and Perm, we bisect the country of the Bashkír into two not very unequal parts. The Bashkír are most compact in the neighbourhood of Ufa, which is really a Bashkír town. They number some 400,000, and are mostly settled. Their language belongs to the Nogai sub-Branch. Ethnologists are divided in opinion about the origin of the race, but the best authorities are agreed that, although the race may be of Mongol origin, the language is Túrki.

### viii. *Trans-Caspian.*

This is a very widely dispersed language. It is spoken by about 2,300,000 people. Going from west to east we see it spoken by the Tekke in the rich pasture plains lying between the northern slopes of the Kopet hills and the desert, and in that long strip of the Arkatch valley north of the Kuren Dagh. But in addition it is also the language of the ruling natives in Samarkand, Tashkent, Bukhára, Charjúi, Kokan, Ferghana, Balkh, and the populous Zarafshan valley. In other words it is the language of the great Uzbek nation. The 92 clans of the Uzbek are scattered over all that part of Central Asia in which the towns just named are situated. It is also the language of the Salor and Sarik tribes of north-west Afghanistan; also of the Kiptchak dwelling north of the Naryn river, and in the district

round the important town of Andijan. It belongs to the Uigúr sub-Bran<sup>ch</sup>. Although it is somewhat corrupted by the Tájik dialect of Persian, it retains the ancient forms of Túrki more faithfully than either the Bashkír or Azerbijáni. When any one in these districts wishes to speak in a more refined manner, or to write a letter or document, he uses either the dialect of the Tájik or else pure Persian. As applied to this language, the name Jagatai is little known in Central Asia. The Uzbek say that they speak 'Túrki.' The term Jagatai is derived from Jagat, that son of Jenghíz Khan to whom the portion of Turkestan now inhabited by the Tekke was given by his father.

#### ix. *Khivan.*

This Language also belongs to the Uigúr sub-Bran<sup>ch</sup>. It is spoken by about 1½ million in the Khanate of Khiva and in the Great Desert between the Amu Daria and the Caspian. In this estimate are included 150,000 nomad Yomut inhabiting the desert, and the Kara-Kalpak, numbering perhaps 200,000, who live round the southern shores of the Sea of Aral. The Turkoman, who form the bulk of the population speaking this language, must have broken off at a very early period from the original home of the race among the Altai. Their language has marked affinities with the most archaic form of the Túrki language.

#### x. *Kirghiz.*

Perhaps none of the five sub-Bran<sup>ches</sup> is so free from dialectic variations as the Kirghíz. The language spoken on the steppes of the lower Volga and that spoken in the valleys of the Thien Shan mountains are one and the same, and it is perhaps nearer to the Western Túrki than the language of the tribes of the Caucasus and Western Caspian shores, and certainly nearer than the language of Yarkand. The Kirghíz nation consists of two great divisions, the Kara- or Burut-Kirghíz, who are highlanders confined to

the Altai, Pamir, and Thien Shan mountains, and to that part of Eastern Turkestan belonging to the Chinese Empire; and the Kazák-Kirghíz, dwellers on the plains, who roam with their sheep and camels over half a million of square miles from the Caspian to Lake Tenghiz. The Kazák or western division are far more numerous and powerful than the Kara-Kirghíz, and are subdivided into the well-known Lesser, Middle, and Greater Horde. The Greater Horde, which borders on the territory of the Kara, inhabits the Alatau district. The Middle Horde is scattered over the whole of south-west Siberia in the territory north and west of Lake Balkhash between the Upper Syr Daria and the Irtish, and is bounded on the west by the Sarisoa. The Lesser Horde is as far west as the Caspian and Ural Mountains, and meets the Middle Horde on the Syr Daria and Yemba. There is yet another Horde confined to Russia called the Inner or Bukeieff Horde. They dwell on the steppe between the Volga and Ural. There is moreover a considerable Kirghíz population in the government of Orenburg. Ethnologists are not yet able to decide whether they belong to the Mongol or to the Túrki race. They number altogether a little over 2,000,000. The Kazák or Western Kirghíz has been called 'Orenburg Tartar,' for the same reason that the Nogai has been called 'Karass': a Scotch Missionary resident in Orenburg translated portions of the Scriptures into Kazák-Kirghíz. I may add that the translation gives an excellent idea of the written form of this dialect.

### xi. *Yakút.*

For the purposes of the philologist this is perhaps the most important of any of the languages, inasmuch as it has preserved its ancient forms untouched by the influence of foreign idioms. It is the language on which Böhtingk wrote his celebrated monograph. The tribes speaking Yakút inhabit the far north-east corner of Siberia, and number about 200,000. It is pretty certain that at some unknown time they have migrated to that secluded region from the

shores of Lake Baikal. All their traditions agree with this theory. The Russian Orthodox Church has had a mission for some time among the Yakút, but more than the half of them still retain their heathen usages.

### xii. *Yarkandi.*

The language of Yarkand in Chineso Tartary and the region south of the Thien Shan mountains. We have here a pure and archaic form of Túrki. Vambéry considers that this language has incontestably the most primitive words and formations amongst all Túrki forms of speech. It has attained, moreover, alone, with the single exception of Osmánli, a high degree of literary culture. Early in the fifth century it was reduced to writing by the Chinese, and in the eighth century Christian missionaries from Syria formed an alphabet. The population speaking this Language numbers nearly 1,000,000.

### xiii. *Taranchi.*

According to Baron Kaulbars the Taranchi number some 40,000. They are settled in Kulja and in small agricultural communities around. They are probably emigrants from Eastern Turkestan, settled in their present territory by the Chinese Government. Radloff says of the Taranchi that which may be said of any of the Central Asian Turkish idioms, "it is more specially Turkish than any Turkish book printed in Constantinople." It belongs to the Uigúr sub-Branch. The name is derived from the Turkish word *Taran* 'millet.' The Taranchi are skilful agriculturists; hence, perhaps, their appellation.

### xiv. *Altaic.*

According to Vambéry, Radloff, Castren, and Pavet de Courteille, the Koibal and Karagas are distinct forms of speech, spoken on the northern slopes of that range, and Radloff mentions many others, calling them dialects.

## SUMMARY.

DIVISION.	SUB-DIV.	POPULATION.	GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT.
1. Túrki	Osmánli	11,000,000	The ruling class of the Ottoman Empire and the inhabitants of Asia Minor.
	Chuwásh	450,000	Governments of Nijnii Novgorod, Kasán, Simbirsk, Viatka, Orenburg.
	Azerbijáni Nogai	3,000,000 190,000	Trans-Caucasia and N.W. Persia, Bessarabia, Crimea, Cis-Caucasia, and Volga Delta.
2. Nogai	Kumiük	70,000	N.E. Daghestan, Terek Valley, and N.W. Shore of Caspian.
	Kasán Bashkír	200,000 400,000	Governments of Kasan and Simbirsk. Governments of Astrakhan, Orenburg, Ufa.
3. Uigár	Yarkandi Trans-Caspian	1,000,000 2,300,000	Yarkand and Chinese Tartary. Country of the Tekke, Zarafshan Valley, and generally Central Turkestan.
	Khivan	1,500,000	Khanate and Desert of Khiva, and South of Sea of Aral.
4. Kirghíz	Taranchi	40,000	Kulja.
	Kirghíz	2,000,000	From the Volga to confines of Manchuria, most compact in S.W. Siberia.
5. Yakút Altaic	Yakút	200,000	N.E. corner of Siberia.
	Altaic	Unknown	On the N. Slopes of Mt. Sayan.

## NOTE BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY R.A.S.

Now that the entire Region occupied by Túrki-speaking tribes has come under the influence of European domination, it is desirable that some clearer understanding should be arrived at of the different languages of this wide-spread Family. I had hoped to prevail on my friend Arminius Vambéry to write a paper for this Journal on the subject, and no one is more competent to deal with it, but the Council declined to offer any remuneration, and so the negotiation dropped, which I had commenced at Buda Pest in 1883. Pavet de Courteille of Paris, at my request wrote a paper on the subject in the Transactions of the Philological Society, 1877; but, as it appeared to me to be rather a Geographical than a Philological subject, I went down in the autumn of 1883 to Tiflis, to talk over the matter with Mr.

Michael Morrison, the Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and his learned colleague, the Rev. Amir-khanians, whom I found engaged in the translation of the Scriptures in the Túrki spoken in Trans-Caucasus and Azerbiján, the North-West Province of Persia. This was not so much a task for a profound scholar in his study in Europe, as for a person engaged in Asia in distributing the Scriptures to each horde in the Language intelligible to them. When Mr. Morrison visited London last year, we talked over the whole subject, and fixed approximately the number of languages; but I consider this sketch to be only tentative, and a step in advance towards the final settlement of this important subject.

We learn from Vambéry that though he calls the Language of the three Khanates of the Oxus the Jagatai, there are distinctly marked Dialects at Kokan, Bokhára, and Khiva, caused in each case by the peculiarities of each State. This paper assigns to Khiva the place of a separate language, including the two other Khanates under the same language with the Tekke. This may or may not be accurate. It is at least intelligible, and therefore easily susceptible of correction. I can however quote no authority.

Michael Terantief published, at St. Petersburg, 1875, Grammars of the Turkish (Osmánli), Persian, Kirghíz and Uzbek languages, as spoken in Central Asia, followed by a Chrestomathy: by Uzbek he means the two Languages described in this paper as Trans-Caspian and Khivan, and proposes to call it Turkestáni; but this would be going too far, as it would be assuming a name for one portion of the field which belongs to the whole field. He admits that the Dialect spoken in Khiva is differentiated from the Dialect of Bukhara and Tashkend, owing to the contact of the former with the Azerbijáni. At the time that he wrote he knew nothing of the language of Yarkand and Kashgar, as Shaw had not published his Grammar, and he knew nothing also of the language of the Tekke of Merw, that country being at that time unvisited and unconquered. Every Russian hates Vambéry the Hungarian, and Terantief, as was to be

expected, attacks the "Jagataische Sprach Studien," but Scholars will probably agree with Vambéry. Radloff is of opinion that a single version of the Scriptures will be understood by the populations of Turkestan (Tashkent), Bokhára, Khiva and Kokan, amounting to two or three millions. A competent scholar, Ostramof, is engaged in the translation of the Gospels: his work has been submitted to Radloff, who is entirely satisfied with it. It will be carried out at the expense of the English Bible Society, and a large issue published and distributed; and the question as to the Language spoken in these Regions will be settled by the test of experience. Schuyler, who is a trustworthy authority, in his Travels entirely supports the same view as Terantief.

I have had a Language Map prepared, and add a table of Authorities or Texts, as the best proof of the existence of the Language and Family, and the best means of differentiating them.

Regarding their written Character, it may be noted that some of these are perfectly illiterate. The Osmánli, the Azerbijáni, Kumük, Kirghíz, Nogai, Yarkandi, Khivan, and Trans-Caspian use the Arabic Character partially or entirely. Vambéry tells us that among the Kirghíz the Mongolian Character is in use, and that the Mulla, who visit these Nomads for the purpose of propagating the Mahometan Faith, do not hesitate to use for that purpose the Character, which on other occasions they call the Káfir Character, and the use of which they try to suppress elsewhere. We find also that there are certain people who speak the Túrki, but read only the Armenian Character, and an Edition of the Bible has been published to suit their convenience. The Chuwásh tribes have been educated to read their Bible in the Russian Character, and are supplied with an Edition. The Osmánli Túrki Language has been made the instrument of Religious Instruction to some of the Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who have forgotten their glorious language, but from mere racial and theological hate will only use the Greek Character, and the entire Bible has been supplied to them in the Alpha Beta of Hellas. The Yakút,

who are Christian subjects of Russia, apparently use the Russian alphabet, to judge from the texts given by Böhplingk.

There is no doubt no finality as yet arrived at. In dealing with Nomads we must expect the Dialects to fluctuate. M. Lessar had in his Survey from Kizil Arbát to Askabad two interpreters, one a Kurd from the frontier colony in Persia, who had been a prisoner among the Tekke, and spoke the Trans-Caspian Language, and the other a native of Kasán in Russia on the Volga, whose form of speech is stated, though no examples are given, to have resembled that spoken by the Tekke. We must take this statement for what it is worth. Vambéry mentions that, though he tried to make use of the Khivan language instead of the Osmánli, the Khan of Khiva was obliged to have much translated to him. This admission from Vambéry, an accomplished Osmánli scholar, and who knew something of Khivan, and a good deal of Trans-Caspian, implies a great divergence. Bellew mentions that a Túrki Dialect was heard among the Nomads betwixt Herat and Farah, implying an intrusion into the Pashtu Language-field.

It will be at once remarked that two venerable names are omitted from this detail of languages, and they are intentionally omitted. The object of this paper is Geographical: the name given to each language indicates the region or the tribe to which it pertains. But a place must be assigned to the Uigúr and Jagatai. Pavet de Courteille agrees with Vambéry in dividing the Túrki languages into two great subdivisions. The North comprehends the languages spoken from the rivers Lena to the Jenissei, or rather the Northern slopes of the Sayan Mountains; these languages are the Yakút, Koibal, Karagas, and many Dialects. The South comprehends all the Túrki languages spoken from the frontier of China to the Danube. This is a far better classification than the vague expedient of dividing the Family with reference to the population being nomad or sedentary. The Uigúr is the most ancient form in which the Túrki speech appears as a cultivated language, while the languages of the Northern subdivision, which may be called the Altaic, and

which are totally illiterate, present the most primitive form of words and forms. There exists a manuscript, known as the Kudatku Bilik, the date of which is fixed at the latter half of the eleventh century of the Christian era : this is stated by some to be the oldest record, and is in Uigúr. Vambéry makes it the basis of his investigations. Though late in date compared with the literary monuments of the Aryan and Semitic Families, it is of great importance, as it is the most pure specimen of real Túrki, free from the influences of the Persian and Arabic languages, and worthy to be considered the typical language.

We have now to inquire what Jagatai is. One of the most remarkable writers on the subject of the Turki tribes is Abul Gházi of Khiva, who wrote a book called "The Genealogical History of the Tatars." He lived at Khiva in the seventeenth century of our era, and he remarks that he wrote his book in Túrki, in order that all might understand him, and that he employed words which a child of the age of five years would comprehend, and that he rejected all loan-words from Jagatai, Persian, and Arabic. This shows that the language, which he used, was not called Jagatai, in his time, but that he used what he deemed pure Turki. Pavet de Courteille comes to the following conclusion : that the Jagatai was the language, in which the Kudatkú-Bilik was written, and was, in fact, the language in its most ancient form, and in the region nearest to its birthplace. Abul Gházi would not allow himself to use antique words, which were intelligible in the eleventh century, but which had fallen into desuetude in the seventeenth, and were only known to the learned. The literature of every country supplies an analogy of this process. The words Jagatai and Uigúr only indicate differences of age, and stages of dialectic variation, through which the Túrki language passed. Shaw confirms this view, and writes that though some European linguists have called the Túrki of Kashgar and Yarkand Uigúr, the name is totally unknown to the people, and would be a misnomer for a modern language. Terantief confirms this view. The term should be abandoned. Vambéry,

in his *Jagataische Sprache*, goes so far as to state that it is probable that the word "Jagatai Turki" means nothing more than "pure Turki," just as the word Jagatai coupled with the word "man" means a "brave, trustworthy man."

I have tried to catch up all the names which are scattered through the books of reference, which are sometimes tribal, sometimes local, sometimes synonyms, sometimes artificial. They will find their place under one or other of the Geographical terms now supplied. Karachai and Kabarda in the Caucasus region, Kapchak on the Lower Volga, and Uzbeg in Transoxania, are tribal names. Chantu is identical with Túrki. Tatar, converted by the wit of a Pope into Tartar, is identical with Túrki (J.R.A.S. n.s. Vol. XIV. p. 125). Alatyan is identical with Altaic. Vocabularies in Meshtsheriak, Tobolsk, Chasowo, Chjulim, Jenisee, Kusnek, Baraba, Kangayen, Teleut, Chiwa, are supplied by Klapproth in the Túrki chapter of his *Language Atlas of Asia Polyglotta*, published at Paris, 1822. If they have any surviving value, it must be appraised after identification of their locality, and testing their accuracy. In these days learned compilations in an imposing form are of no value, unless the Geographer can mark the spot with precision on the Language-Map, and the compiler can give other authority and security for the genuineness of the Vocabulary than the notes in his own Diary. We have got beyond the uncritical stage, and like to know the latitude and longitude, and the capacity of the compiler, as well as his method of transliteration.

It is worthy of remark that the whole of the Túrki-speaking population of the world is slowly, but surely, gravitating towards Russian domination. A few corners still lie outside the absorbing influence, but they seem tottering on the brink of the chasm. The Taranchi of Kulja, and the Yarkandi of Kashgaria are still in the Chinese dominions; and the Túrki, who inhabit the regions behind the Oxus and the Hindu Kúsh, are still in Afghanistan: the Province of Azerbiján still forms part of the Persian kingdom, and Asia Minor is in the Ottoman Empire: but this state of affairs

is only for a time. Every fragment of the Indic branch of the Aryan Family of Languages, with the exception of the rude form of speech of the Siah Posh of Kafiristan and the Dards, has been absorbed into the Indian Empire; the same fate of being gathered under one sceptre awaits the whole of the widely-scattered Túrki tribes, and it is a notable fact for the future, since unity of language is put forward as the basis of political union.

How far the Russians possess the necessary sympathy for such a task, and the capacity for educating such a population, nomad, as well as sedentary, is a question. The Russian language, with its ponderous word-store, and illogical Aryan structure, has but slight attraction to the agglutinative and severely logical Túrki, which stands at the head of all languages in its wonderful symmetry and power of form, evolution or accommodation. Perhaps the Bántu family of South Africa alone can rival it. Of the kind of words, which will come into existence from the contact of such uncongenial elements as Russ and Túrki we have a specimen in the name of a son of a Kirghíz chief in the Russian service, Vali Khan, who has assumed the name of Valikhanoff. In India we should hardly call the son of Gulab Singh, Gulabsinghson, but such words may hereafter be formed.

How the subtle poison of the Arabized Persian language has found its way into the veins of the linguistic body of the Osmánli Túrki is well known, but it is surprising to find in the distant and secluded language of Yarkandi in Chinese Tartary the same infiltration of foreign elements, though to a less degree. The celebrated Uigúr Manuscript is quite free from this contagion. The presence of a Tájik servile population would supply the Persian element, and the conquering Religion of Mahomet would force into use Arabic words and forms. But we have the authority of Vambéry for asserting that it was quite unnecessary for the Osmánli language to make such prodigious loans from Arabic and Persian, as it had in its own Túrki root-store and expanding mechanism, a capability of expressing every human idea, and could at pleasure replace every foreign word by drawing

upon its own stores; and, in fact, the East-Turki languages have done so to a very great extent. We find the same linguistic phenomena in the marvellously beautiful and versatile lingua franca of India, the Urdú, or Hindustáni, in spite of the wealth of word-store and grammatical forms of the great Sanskritic Vernaculars, and the high degree of culture, to which the pure Indian literature had reached long before the Mahometan Conquest, which rendered loan-words quite unnecessary. The very word "Urdú" marks the Túrki conquest of India by the Mughals. The Baber-namah of the great founder of that dynasty is in Jagatai. A certain proportion of words, though not many, have survived in the great Indian vernacular. The word Turk survives in the Hindustáni Dictionary in connection with horses and horsemen. I close with the proverb:

عربی اصل فارسی شکر  
ہندی نہک ترکی ہنر

Arabic is the root : Persian is the sugar :  
Hindi is the salt : Turki is the art.

The desideratum is a Scientific Comparative Grammar of the whole family, worthy to be placed on the same shelf with the Comparative Grammars of other families of speech which we already possess, and it is stated on good authority that Radloff is preparing such a work.

## A. APPENDIX OF AUTHORITIES AND TEXTS.

No.	Language.	Authority or Text.
1.	Nogai .....	Pentateuch and New Testament. Krym Khowadja, Proverbs of the Tatars of the Crimea, Kasán.
2.	Osmánli .....	An extensive literature, and the whole Bible.
3.	Kumük.....	Bodensted, Vocabulary. Z.D.M.G. vol. v. pp. 245, 851. Makharoff, Túrki Languages spoken in the Caucasus. Gospel of St. Matthew.
4.	Kasán .....	Balinth, Túrki Grammar, Buda Pest, 1875. Wakhabof, Dialect of Kasán. Ostramof, Christian Tatar Dictionary, Kasán, 1876. Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark.
5.	Chúwash' .....	Schott, Société Philologique de Paris, 1876. The Four Gospels. Zolonitzki, Chuwash-Russian Dictionary, Kasán, 1875.
6.	Azerbijáni or Trans-Caucasian	Kasimbeg, Allgemeine Grammatik Turko Tatar Sprachen, translated from Russian in German by Zenker, Leipzig, 1848. Vambéry, Jagatai Sprach Studien, Leipzig, 1867, p. 6. Bergé, Report of International Congress at St. Petersburg, 1876, p. 85. do. Dichtungen transkaukasischer Sänger, Leipzig, 1868. New Testament. Translation of Play. Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc. n.s. 1886. Text of do. Jour. Soc. Asiat. 1886, p. 5, and Grammatical Note by Barbier de Meynard.
7.	Bashkír.....	Sayce, Introduction to Science of Language, ii. p. 45, London, 1880.
8.	Trans-Caspian ...	Vambéry, Jagatai Sprach studien, Leipzig, 1867. do. Etym. Wörterbuch, Leipzig, 1878. do. Abuska, collection of Jagatai Words, Buda Pest, 1862. Pavet de Courteille, Jour. Soc. Asiatique, 1878, vol. xii. p. 208. Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark (in the Press). Ahmed Vefik, Text of Makbúl al Kulúb by Nevai. Con- stantinople, 1872. Veliaminof-Zernof, complete edition of the Abuska, St. Petersburg, 1869. Ilminsky, Text of Babér-namah, Kasán, 1857.
9.	Khivan... .....	Schuylar, Travels, vol. i. p. 109.
10.	Kirghíz .....	Ilminsky, The Kirghíz, Kasán. New Testament, and part of Old.
11.	Yakút .....	Boehstlingk, Ueber die Sprache der Jakúten, St. Petersburg, 1851.
12.	Yarkandi .....	Shaw, Language of Eastern Turkestan, Lahore, 1875. Vambery, Uigurische Sprach Monuments, Innsbruck, 1876 Klaproth, Ueber die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren, Paris, 1820.
		Faulmann, Buch der Schrift, Vienna, 1878, p. 111.
13.	Taranchi .....	Baron Kaulbars (name of work not known).

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TURKI LANGUAGES. 195

No.	Language.	Authority or Text.
14.	Altaic .....	Grammar of the Altaic Languages, by Members of the Altaic Mission, Kasán, 1869.
		Pavet de Courteille, Transactions of Philological Society of London, 1877, p. 61.
		do. Jour. Soc. Asiatique, 1878, vol. xii. p. 209.
		Vambéry, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turk-o-Tatarischen Sprachen, Leipzig, 1878, p. viii.
		Radloff, Ueber die Formen der gebundenen Rede bei den Altaischen Tartaren.
		do. Aus Sibirien, Leipzig, 2 vols. 1884.
		do. Phonetik der Nördlichen Turksprachen, Leipzig, 1882.
		Zeitschrift für Volkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft, iv. band 8. 85.
		Castren, Versuch einer koibalischen und karagassischen Sprachlehre, Petersburg, 1869.

## B. BOOKS OF REFERENCE. GENERAL SUBJECT.

1. Pavet de Courteille Note upon Turkish Languages, Transactions of Philosophical Society, 1877-8-9, p. 54.  
Dictionnaire Turk-Orientale, Paris, 1870.
2. Max Müller.....Survey of Languages of Seat of War in the East, London, 1855, p. 144.  
Lectures on Science of Language, i. p. 333, London, 1871.
3. Hovelacque .....La Linguistique, Paris, 1876, p. 130.
4. Latham ... ....Comparative Philology, London, p. 98.
5. Quatremère .....Chrestomathie Orientales.  
Specimen of Eastern Turki Dialects.
6. Budagoff .....Comparative Dictionary of Turk-Tatar Language, St. Petersburg, 1869.
7. Radloff .....Proben der Volksliteratur der Türkischen Stamme Sud-Siberiens, St Petersburg, 1866-72.
8. Desmaisons .....Texte d'Abul Gházi, St. Petersburg, 1871.
9. Schott .....Altaische Studien, 1867-72.  
Versuch ueber die tatarischen Sprachen.
10. Klaproth .....Asia Polyglotta et Sprach Atlas, with Vocabularies, Paris, 1822.
11. Remusat .....Recherches sur les langues Tatares, Paris, 1820.
12. Faz-ulláh.....Dictionary Turk-Persian, Calcutta, 1825.
13. Fréhn .....Text of Abul Gházi, Kasán, 1825.
14. Fredk. Müller.....Allgemeine Ethnographie, pp 25, 393, Vienna, 1879.  
Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 51, Vienna, 1882.
15. Berezine .....Recherches sur les Dialectes Mussulmans. Première partie. Systeme des Dialectes Turks, Kasán, 1848.
16. Davids.....Turkish Grammar. Preface.
17. Terantief .....Grammar of Turkish, Persian, Kirghiz and Uzbek. (Russian.) St. Petersburg, 1875.
18. Lützsch .....Kirgisische Chrestomathie, 1883.

ART. XI.—*A Modern Contributor to Persian Literature.*

*Rizá Kulí Khán and his Works.* By SIDNEY CHURCHILL,  
Esq., M.R.A.S.

BUT a few Persians have devoted so much time, energy, and real enthusiasm to their own literature during the present century as the subject of this notice: the Amíru-sh-Shu'ará Rizá Kulí Khán B Muhammad Hádí Khan B Ism'aíl Kamál, poetically surnamed "Hidáiyat," and popularly known as the "Lalah Báshí." Descended in a direct line from the well-known poet, Kamál Khojandí—a cotemporary of Háfiz, who died at Tabríz in A.H. 792 (A.D. 1389)—the Amíru-sh-Shu'ará was born in Tehrán on the 15th Muharram, A.H. 1215 (8th June, 1800). His family, in honour of their ancestor, appended the surname Kamál to their individual appellations. Hidáiyat's grandfather, Ism'aíl Kamál, suffered death at the hands of Zakí Khán Zand for refusing to take up the cause of the Zand dynasty in preference to that of the Pretender Aghá Muhammad Khán Kajár.

Rizá Kulí Khán lost both father and mother at an early age, being left an orphan at Shíráz, where he entered the service of the Farmán Farmái Husain 'Ali Mírzá. His *takhallus* was first "Chákar"; but after some of his odes had reached Mazandarán, his native home, he changed it to "Hidáiyat."

Fath 'Ali Sháh Kajár, when in Shíráz, appointed him Amíru-sh-Shu'ará, or "Chief of the Poets," but notwithstanding this and other evidences of the Sháh's goodwill, he sojourned in Shíráz until A.H. 1254 (A.D. 1838), when he travelled towards Tehrán, and being presented to Muham-

mad Sháh, who had succeeded his grandfather, was appointed by him as Lalah Báshí, or guardian to his favourite son, 'Abbás Mírzá Náib us-Sultanhá, who is now known by the title of Mulk Árá, "ornament or adorner of the kingdom."

In A.H. 1264 (A.D. 1848), Muhammad Sháh died and was succeeded by the Valí'ahd Násiru-d-Dín Mírzá. Owing to the intrigues against Hájí Mírzá Aghásí during the last few months of Muhammad Sháh's life, some of the princes were banished to Karbalá. Amongst these were 'Abbás Mírzá and his mother, who had been the late Sháh's favourite wife. For these reasons Rizá Kulí Khán was obliged to keep quiet for a time. Through the patronage of the Amír Nizám—Mírzá Takí Khán—however, he was, in A.H. 1267 (A.D. 1851), sent on a mission to Khiva. On his return from Central Asia, he was appointed Deputy Director of the Royal Academy, which had lately been formed at Tehrán, a post he held for some years. When the Valí'ahd, Muzaffaru-d-Dín Mírzá, was appointed to the government of Azarbajján, Rizá Kulí Khán received the royal orders to follow him in the same capacity as that he had held with 'Abbás Mírzá. A few years later, whilst in Tehrán, to seek a little rest, he died, from an illness from which he had been suffering, in A.H. 1288 (A.D. 1871).

The Lalah Báshí was a very good scholar, and one of the most learned men of his day. His learning being recognized, he had many opportunities of taking advantage of his friends' libraries. His value as a poet is highly estimated by his countrymen; though his *díván* has not yet been published.<sup>1</sup>

The following is a list of his works :

(1) An edition of the *Rauzatu-s-Safá*, a general history of Persia and the adjacent countries, from the creation to A.H. 873, in six volumes, composed by Muhammad B. Khévand Sháh B. Mahmúd, better known as Mír Khwánd.

<sup>1</sup> M. Schefer, in his introduction to the "Relation de l'Ambassade au Kharizm," says that this collection consists of more than 50,000 *báits* or distichs, besides miscellaneous writings, of which mention is made in Mr. Churchill's list, numbers 8, 12, 6, 14 and 18.—ED.

To this work is added the rarer seventh volume, in the introductory lines prefixed to which the name of Ghiásu-d-Dín Khwánd Mír occurs as its author—its subject being a history of Abú-l-Ghází Sultán Husain Mírzá and his sons, to A.H. 929. In continuation of these, Rizá Kulí Khán, by Royal command, compiled, in the course of two years, three volumes, which consist—in his own words—of the history of three hundred and seventy years, from the origin of the Safavís to A.H. 1274 (A.D. 1858); thus including the first decade of Násíru-d-Dín Sháh's reign. These three important supplements, comprising about seventy thousand lines, were lithographed together with the preceding seven volumes, the whole ten being formed into two big folios, at Tehrán, A.H. 1271-74 (A.D. 1853-56), and a thousand copies struck off.

(2) The "Najád Námah Pádsháhán Irání Najád." This work is rare, and still in MS. It consists of an enumeration of the kings and dynasties of Persian origin, and is divided as follows: Mukaddimah; on the five principal branches of early Persian kings, viz. (1) Mahábád, (2) Jaiyán, (3) Sháyán, (4) Yásánián, (5) Gil Sháh. Guftar; early Persian history to the death of Yazdijird B Shariyár. Tabakah: I. Al-i-Saffár; II. Al-i-Sámán; III. Bévand; IV. Búyah or Dailamites; V. Al-i-Kákriyeh; VI. Al-i-Zíár, called also Al-i-Kábús; VII. Kávbárah dynasty; VIII. Nimrúz; IX. On the third branch of the Al-i-Bávand; X. Al-i-Fazluyeh, of Shíráz; XI. The Bádúsbán dynasty, descendants of Kubád, the Sasanian; XII. The Bahmaní dynasty of Dakkan; XIII. Al-i-Shírvan; XIV. Dynasties who ruled over Núr and Rustamdár; XV. Kujúr dynasties; XVI. Láristán dynasties; XVII. Hurmuz dynasties; XVIII. Rulers over Sind and Multán. Khátimah; consists of a chronology of the principal historical events, from the birth of the Prophet to the date of composition of the work. The Najhád Námah begins as follows:

پاٹ شاهنشاهی را سپاس وستایش کے دم کیهان کیائلش همتائی

The following is a list of some of the works and authorities

mentioned in the text: Dabistán (<sup>1</sup> ul-Mazáhib; an anonymous work on the religious creeds of the East. Lithographed, Tehrán, A.H. 1260). Sháh Námah Firdúsí. Jámásb Námah (or rather, Kitáb-i-Jámásb, a work on the horoscopes of the Persian Kings posterior to his own day, by Jámásb, vazír of Sháh Gushtásb B Luhrásb). Ayín Bahman. Dáráb Námah. Dániš Afzái Anúshírván, the author of which is Hakím Buzarjumahr. Dánishvar Námah (the work referred to is the Khodái Námah of Dánishvar, the Dehgán). The Khirad Námah. The Luhrásb and Gushtásb Námah (of Shamsu-d-Dín Muhammad, Dak-éíkí). Tárikh Guzídah of Hamd-Ullah Mustaufi Kazvíní.<sup>2</sup> Asáru'l-Bákíyah (a historical and scientific work by Abú 'l-Raihán Md. B Ahmad al-Bírúní-al-Khwárazmí; who died after A.H. 430). Baháristán of Jámí. The Gurshásb Námah (of Assadí Túsí, completed in A.H. 458). Yúsuf Zulaikhá of Firdúsí (lithographed at Tehrán, 1299). Tárikh Herát of Mu'inu-d-Dín Asfizári. Jahán Aráí (Nasukh Jahán Ará of Ahmad Ghaffári). Ihyá ul-Mulük (a history of Sístán and its rulers to A.H. 1027, by Sháh Hussin B Ghiásu-d-Dín Sístání Suffári). Tárikh Fakhr Banáketí (Rauzat Aúlí Albáb). Tárikh Tabaristán (to A.H. 613) of Ibn Isfandíár. Tárikh Tabaristán (to A.H. 881) of Saiyid Zahíru-d-Dín. Tárikh Aúliá Alláh (also an early history of Tabaristán). The Tajárubu'l-Umam of Abú 'Alí Maskuyah. Jám'au't-Tavárikh Rashídí. Tabakátu-n-Nahát (of Jalálu-d-Dín 'Abdu-r-Rahman B Abú Bakr as-Síútí). 'Izáh fí'l-Nahv (of Abú 'Alí Hasan B Ahmadu'l-Farsí). Kitábu-t-Tájí (a history of the Dailamites by Abú Ishák Ibráhím B Hilál B Hárúnu'l Hárarrí, commonly called Sábí). Tárikh Káharah Misr. Tárikhu'l-Mulük. Miftáhu'l Kuláb. Tárikh Farishtah. Tárikh Karmán, called 'Ikdu'l-'Ulá, by Afzalu'd-Dín Ahmad B Hámíd (brought down to A.H. 584. Also known as the Tárikh Kúhbínání; lithographed at Tehrán, A.H. 1293), etc.

<sup>1</sup> Words in brackets are the writer's own.

<sup>2</sup> A note on a newly-discovered work of this author is added at the close of the present paper.—[En.]

(3) *Fihrisu't-Taváríkh*, a chronology; consists of about twenty thousand lines. Said to have been partially lithographed at Tabríz.

(4) *Ajmalu't-Taváríkh*; an elementary historical class-book. Lithographed at Tabríz, A.H. 1283. Was originally composed for the use of the Valí'ahd (heir apparent).

(5) *Safar Námah Khwárazm*. This work has been edited by Ch. Schefer, Boulak, 1879, and translated by the same Orientalist, Paris, 1879.

(6) *Anváru'l-Viláyah*, a masnaví, in the metre of Nizámí's *Makhzan ul-Aсрár*.

(7) *Gulistán Iram*, a masnaví, on the loves of Ráb'ah and Baktásh, also called Baktásh Námah. Lithographed, illustrated, Tehrán, 1270.

(8) *Bahru'l-Hákáík*, a masnaví, in the metre of the Hadíkah of Sanái.

(9) *Anísu'l-Áshikín*, a masnaví.

(10) *Khurram i Bahisht*; a masnaví, in the Takárub measure.

(11) *Minháju'l-Hidáyah*, a masnaví.

(12) *Hidáiyat Námah*, a masnaví, in the Raml measure.

Risálahs (13) *Madáriju'l-Balághah*. (14) *Miftáhu'l-Kunúz*.

(15) *Mazáharu'l-Anvar*, and (16) *Latáifu'l-Ma'árif*.

(17) Edited the Kábús Námah<sup>1</sup> of Amír 'Ansuru'l-Ma'álí Kai Káüs B Iskandar B. Kábús. Lithographed at Tehrán, 1285.

(18) Edited about 3000 distichs of Minúchihrí's poetical works. Lithographed at Tehrán; and since re-edited and re-lithographed.

(19) *Ríázu'l-'Arifín*, a biography of Súfís and poets.

(20) *Farhang Anjuman Aráí Násirí*; a glossary of difficult words, collected principally from the poetical works of the Persian poets. The current year, A.H. 1286, is mentioned in the introductory remarks, where the author states that he had already spent much time in collecting over one hundred thousand distichs of the choicest passages from the works of

<sup>1</sup> No mention of 9, 10, 15, 16, or 17 is made in M. Schefer's enumeration of Rizá Kuli's works.—[Ed.]

the early and modern Persian poets—which collection he has perpetuated in the shape of the “Majma’u-l-Fusahá” and “Ríázu'l-'Arifin. Following this is a list of the author's precursors and their works, which are as follows : Abú Hafs Sughdí Samarkandí's Risálah. Abú Mansúr Assadí ut-Túsí's Risálah Lughat Furs (d. A.H. 465). Ḳatrán Tabrízí (Abú Mansúr Ḳatrán B Mansúr Ajaltí ul-Urumavi. The work referred to is the Tafásíru'l-Lughat-i-Furs. Died some time between A.H. 445 and 465, according to his various biographers). Farrukhí Sístání (Abú 'l-Hasan 'Alí B Kúlú, d. 470 A.H.). The work referred to is probably the “Navádiru'l-Lughat”). Shams Fakhrí's (Shamsu-d-Dín Fakhrí ul-Isfahání, d. 744) “Mi'yár Jamálí,” a glossary composed for Sultán Shaikh Abú Ishák. The Sharaf Námah Munyarí (better known as the Farhang Ibráhímí) of Ibráhím Kavám Sirhindí (Fárúkí). The Majma’u-l-Furs (equally well known by the name of Farhang Surúrí) of Muhammad Kásim B Hájí Muhammad Káshání. Takh, Surúrí ; dedicated to Sháh 'Abbás I. Safaví (A.H. 993-1036). The Farhang Jehángírí of Mír Jamálu'd-Dín Husain Anjú Shírází, completed in A.H. 1017. 'Abdu'r-Rashíd Husainí Mediní ut-Tataví's translation of the Arabic Kámúsul-Lughat (of Majdu'-d-Dín Abú Táhir Md. B Ya'kúb Fírúzábádí ush-Shírází, who died A.H. 817), the same author's edition and correction of the Farhang Jahángírí, styled Farhang Rashídí (completed in A.H. 1064). The Burhán Káta', compiled for Sultán 'Abdullah B Kutb Sháh by Muhammad Husain B Khalaf Tabrízí. Takh. Burhán ; completed in A.H. 1062. From this Rizá Kulí Khán proceeds to give some of his authorities, which are, besides the above : Ukiánús. The Kámús of al-Fírúzábádí (above mentioned). The Saháh (of Abú Nasr Ismá'il B. Hammad ul-Jauharí, d. A.H. 393). The Suráh (ul Lughah of Abú 'l-Fazl Md. B'Umar B Khálid, better known as Jamálí. This work is a Persian version of the Saháh of Jauharí). The Majma’u-l-Bahrain (fi'l-Lughah ; compiled by Hasan B. Md. us-Saghání, d. A.H. 650). The Naháyatu'l-Lughah. The Kashfu'l-Lughah (probably the Kashfu'l-Lughát va'l-

Istaláhát, compiled by 'Abdu'r-Rahím B Ahmad Súr). Kanzu'l-Lughát (of Md. B 'Abdu'l-Khálik B Ma'rúf). Muntakhibu'l-Lughah (there are several, but the work here referred to is no doubt the one compiled in A.H. 1046, by the author of the Farhang Rashídí). Tibyán. Misbáhu'l-Munví (of Ahmad B Md. B'Alí al-Fayyúmí, composed A.H. 734). Táju'l-Masádir (of Abú Ja'far Ahmad B 'Alí Baihákí; died A.H. 544. Hájí Khalfa makes Rudákí, the blind poet of Bukhárá, who died A.H. 304, to be the author of a glossary with this same title). The Sámí fí'l-Asámí (of Abí'l-Fazl Ahmad B Md. ul-Maidání un-Níshápúrí; died A.H. 518). Muhazzabu'l-Asmá (by Mahmúd B'Umar us-Sanjárí ush-Shaibání). Mirkátu'l-Lughah (probably by Ahmadí Kirmáni; died A.H. 815). Lahjatu'l-Lughah. Tuhfatul-Ahbáb (the author of which is Háfiz Aubahí; completed in A.H. 936). Burhán Jáma'-Farhang-i-Farhang. Farhang Ní'mat-Ullah. The Risálah Khúishtáb, a translation of the Karzan Dánish, a work composed in the reign of Khusrau Párvíz by the Múbid Húsh (or Havash). The Risálah Zardast Afshár, composed by Dád Búyah B Húsh Ayín, in the days of Hurmuz B Anushirván. The Chash-mah Zandahgí and Zandah Rúd, a philosophical work composed by Farzánahzand Arzam Sipáhání. The Sad Dar (of Iránsháh B Malaksháh, composed in A.H. 900). The Lughat Díván Khákání. The Lughat i Sháh Námah (edited by Muhammad Túsí 'Alaví, who collected it at Isfahán over three hundred years ago from a copy of the Sháh Námah containing 60,000 distichs, in the margins of which were glosses to the difficult words). The Farhang Makhzanu'l-Adviyah (a ponderous alphabetical dictionary of medicaments, compiled by Mír Muhammad Husain Khán B Md. Hádí Aghilí ul-'Alaví ul-Khorásání, begun in Arabic in A.H. 1183, but finally changed into the present Persian text in A.H. 1185; lithographed at Tehrán, A.H. 1277). The Sháhad Sádiķ (of Md. Sádiķ B Md. Sálih Isfahání ul-Azádání). The Majma'u-l-Buldán (of Abú Abdulláh Ya'kút Hamaví). The Tuhfah Hakím Múmin (lithographed Isfahan, 1274). The Haft Iklím (of Amín Ahmad Rází). The Lughat i

Vassaf; Lughat Baráhín ul 'Ajam; Lughat Dabistán, etc.<sup>1</sup> Before giving the text proper of his work, the author has further prefixed a Mukaddimah on the discrimination of Persian and Arabic words; and twelve Aráishes on words misunderstood by former lexicographers; on errors committed by them; and on the alphabet and grammar of the Persian language. The text proper is divided into twenty-four Anjuman, and arranged in alphabetical order. A Khátimah, in two Píráishes, on idioms and locutions, closes this work, which has been lithographed at Tehrán, with a portrait of the author, A.H. 1288.<sup>2</sup>

(21) A Tazkarah of the Poets, called "Majma'ul-Fusahá." The current date, A.H. 1284, is mentioned in the conclusion of the preface. This work is divided into four Rukus as follows: Ruku I. Kings and Princes who have written poetry; II. Poets from A.H. 173 to A.H. 800; III. Poets of the Middle period; IV. Contemporary poets. After praises of the Amíru'l-Múminín 'Alí B Abí Tálib, the author discourses on the origin of poetry, and concludes with a list of his authorities, scarcely any of whom, however, does he supersede. Indeed, one would have expected more accuracy from so painstaking a scholar. As some of the works he mentions are extremely rare, it is worth while enumerating them, as by this means it will be seen that such works are still to be met with by diligent search for them. The Tazkarah Lubu'l-Lubab of Muhammad 'Aúfi (otherwise the very rare Lubábu'l-Albáb, described by N. Bland in this Journal, Vol. IX. p. 112; and Fr. Sprenger, Oude Catalogue,

<sup>1</sup> From the enumeration of these works, it will become evident that, notwithstanding all his advantages, the Lalah Báshí has not exhausted the field of glossography; indeed, unless we are to take the "Lughat Díván Khákání" as a work by that author, it would appear that one of the most important glossographers has been overlooked by Rízâ Kuli Khán. I refer to Muhammad B Dáid B Md. B Mahmúd Shádiábádi, author of a similar work to the Farhang Anjuman Aráí called: "Miftáh ul-Fuzalá," composed in A.H. 873; and other works.—S.C.

<sup>2</sup> The Mukaddimah and Khátimah may be accepted as the introductory and concluding remarks respectively. Aráish and Píráish really imply ornament and embellishment, but are here regarded as indicative of divisions and subdivisions of a work. Anjuman—lit. a 'collection'—may be translated by Book or Chapter. The terms are somewhat fanciful, and their application is probably left to the discretion of authors rather than subjected to any strict rule of composition.—[ED.]

p. 1). The Majálisu'n-Nafáís of Mír 'Alí Shír (a biography of Jaghatái Turkish poets; has been translated into Persian and amplified under the title of "Latáíf Námah" by Fakhrí B Md. Amírí). The Tuhfah Sámí (of Sám Mírzá Safaví). The Tazkarah of Táhir Nasírbádí. The Tazkarah of Daulatshah Samarkandí. The Tazkarah of Sádík Kitábdár Safaviyah. The Tazkarah Khair ul-Bayan. The Haft Iklím. The Tazkarah of Takí ud-Dín Auhadí Farsí. Mír Md. Takí Máshání's Tazkarah (called Khulásatu-l-Ash'ár, a most valuable work, rare, complete, and yet unsuperseded). The Ka'bah 'Irfán (of Takí Auhadí Isfahání, and an abridgment of the next work by the same author). The 'Urfát (va Ghirfát Ashikín). The rare Majma'u-n-Navádir (or Chahár Maqálah of Nizámí ul-'Arúzí us-Samarkandí). The Múnisu'l-Ahráh, a biography by Muhammad B Badr Jájarmí. The Tazkarah of Abú Hayán-i-Tabib. The Tazkarah of 'Alí Küli Khán, Válih (called Ríáz ush-Shu'ará). The Tazkarah of Abú Tálib Khán Isfahání (called Khulásatu'l-Afskár) Atashkadah. Tazkarah Ishák Beg (an anthology by the brother of the author of the Atashkadah). Rashhát Saháb Isfahání (Mírzá Sayyid Md. B Ahmad. d. 1222 or 1233. This work was written for Fath 'Alí Sháh). Ríáz us-Síáhah of Sayyáh Shírvání. Zinatu'l-Madáyah of Humái Marví (Md. Sádík. There is a recension of this work by its author). Anjuman-i-Khákán by Fázil Khán, Garúsí, Ráví. The Majmú'ah of Ahmad Beg, Akhtar Gurjí. The Majmú'ah of Md. Bákar Beg, Nishátí. The Dilkushái of Bismil Shírází (Hájí 'Alí Akbar, styled Navvab). The Safinatu'l-Mahmúd (rather, the Gulshan-i-Mahmúd of Mahmúd Mírza Kájár, author of the Tárikh Sáhibkráni, etc.). The Majmu'ah of Haidar Küli Mírzá, Khávar. Md. Súfi Mazandarání's Maikhánah va But-Khánah. The Tazkarah of Darvish Navái Káshání.. The Tazkarah of 'Abdu-r-Razzák Bay Dumbulí, author of the Tárikh Másir Sultániyah; Takh Naftúm. Tazkarah Muhammadsháhí of Bahman Mírzá Kájár, etc.

## EDITOR'S ADDENDUM (see footnote 2, page 199).

Two paragraphs in the "Literary Gossip" of the *Athenæum* of the 27th March, 1885, give an interesting account of a recently-discovered work by Hamd-Ullah Mustaufi Kazvīnī, one of the writers named in the foregoing paper. This production, although foreshadowed in the preface to the same author's "*Tárikh Guzídah*," has hitherto remained unknown in substance to European scholars; and it is to Mr. Sidney Churchill of Tehrán (who now describes the literary labours of Rízā Kúlī) that the credit of securing it for the British Museum belongs. Under the somewhat hackneyed title of "*Zafr Námah*," it is explained to be a "rhymed chronicle of the Muslim world" in 75,000 verses, and "so rare that its existence might have been doubted." Its bulk is partly accounted for by the fact that it contains the whole of Firdausi's "*Shah-námah*" written in the margins—a circumstance which enhances its value by supplying Orientalists with a new and carefully-collated text of that celebrated Epic. Referring to it, however, as a closely-written quarto, richly ornamented with frontispiece and gilt headings, and dated Shiráz 807, or 1405 of our era," the writer in the *Athenæum* thus apportions the numerous verses:

"The first 25,000 are devoted to the Arabs, *i.e.* to Muhammad and his successors down to the fall of the Khalifat of Baghdad; the next 20,000 to the Persians, or to the dynasties of Irán from the Saffáris to the Karakhitais of Karmán; and the last 30,000, to the Mughals. This last section, the largest and most valuable, beginning with the House of Jenghiz Khán, treats very fully of the foundation of the Mughal Empire, of Hulaku, and of his successors in Persia down to Abu Sa'íd Bahádur Khán, the last of the dynasty under whom the author lived. The history is brought down to the time of composition, Ann. Hij. 735, or Ann. Dom. 1334, just one year before Abu Sa'íd's death."

In a future Number of the Journal it is proposed to give further information on this most valuable discovery. Meanwhile it may be noted that Mr. Rieu's printed Catalogues

show two other of Hamd-Ullah's works among the Persian Manuscripts of the British Museum : one, the above-mentioned "Tarikh Guzidah," a general history from the earliest times to the period of writing—a sort of prose scaffolding to the versified history then in progress, and now displayed to the ken of Western scholars: the other, the "Nuzhatu-l-Kulub," described as "a cosmographical work, treating more especially of the geography of Persia and some adjacent counties." The last-named book, though mainly a compilation, has attained considerable repute: there are no less than nine copies noted in the Museum Catalogues.

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**ART. XII.—*Some Bhoj'pūrī Folk-Songs.*** Edited and translated by G. A. GRIERSON, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service.

ENCOURAGED by the reception of my former paper on Bihārī Folk-Songs,<sup>1</sup> I now lay before the Society a further set of similar ones, in the same dialect of the Bihārī language,—the Bhoj'pūrī.

Since the last paper was printed, the acquirement of this dialect of Bihārī has been facilitated by the publication of a Bhoj'pūrī grammar,<sup>2</sup> and it is hoped that when the set of dialect grammars of which that forms a part is all printed, and when the Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language,<sup>3</sup> now being published, is completed, the requirements of the student will in some measure be fulfilled.

The great want of Bihārī is a printed literature. At present, owing to the Government preference for the exotic Hindi, all works of any importance published in Bihār are written in that language, though a few popular books are sometimes issued in Bihārī.<sup>4</sup> These latter are, however, few in number, and, though much admired, they hardly pay; for, practically, the only books that pay in Bihār are those patronized by the Government Education Department, which steadily refuses to have anything to do with works written in the national language. This is a great pity, for Hindi is only understood by the educated classes, and, even amongst them, is a

<sup>1</sup> Some Bihārī Folk-Songs, J R A S Vol XVI p 196

<sup>2</sup> Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-Dialects of the Bihārī Language, by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S. Part I. General Introduction. Part II. The Bhoj'pūrī Dialect. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, London, Trübner. Five parts in all have been published up to date, and two others are in the press.

<sup>3</sup> London, Trübner

<sup>4</sup> e.g., the Sudhābānd, by Kumāra Lāla Khadga Bahādūr Mall, published by Shāhī Prasād Singh in Bākipur (Bankipore).

foreign tongue which they have to learn in addition to their native language. -

Before the English rulers undertook to foster the vernaculars, practically the only two of them in North-Eastern India which had acquired any considerable literary cultivation were the *Bais'wārī* of *Audh* and the *Baggālī*. The latter does not concern us now, and it will suffice here to refer to the line of famous poets in that language, commencing with *Chāndī Dāsa*, who lived in the fifteenth century A.D.

*Bais'wārī*, the border dialect between *Braj Bhāshā* (the parent of modern *Hindi*) on the west, and *Bihārī* on the east, and partaking of the peculiarities of both these languages, was admirably adapted to serve the purposes of a poet, who could be read, understood, and loved over the whole of *Hindūstān*, and such a poet arose in the famous *Tul'sī Dās*, who wrote almost entirely in that dialect.<sup>1</sup> He was followed by a host of imitators, down to the present day, and hence it follows that *Bais'wārī* has a literature which, if collected together, would fill a good-sized library.

At the same time, *Braj Bhāshā*, the language to the west of *Bais'wārī*, and not falling within North-East *Hindūstān*, developed a literature of its own, founded, while the language was almost yet a *Piākrit*, by *Chand Bardāi*, who was followed, *longo intervallo*, by *Sūr Dās* and his imitators.

*Hindi*, i.e. the book *Hindi* of the present day, did not exist till the English conquest. Early in the present century it was manufactured by order of Government, out of *Urdu*, by the substitution of *Sanskrit* for *Arabic* and *Persian* words.

<sup>1</sup> The only poem of *Tul'sī Dās*, with which I am acquainted, and which is not written in *Bais'wārī*, is the *Kriah'nibali*, which he wrote, as the subject and fashion required, in *Braj Bhāshā*. *Sūr Dās*, who wrote only about *Kriṣṇa*, wrote in *Braj Bhāshā*, and *Tul'sī Dās*, the bard of *Rām*, in *Bais'wārī*, and it seems to have been a recognized rule, even as far back as the time of the latter poet, that poems concerning the former hero must therefore be written in *Braj*, and those concerning the latter hero in *Bais'wārī*. So prevalent and fixed has this idea become, that *Bidyāpati*, the *Maithili* poet, who wrote only about *Kriṣṇa*, in the *Maithili* dialect, is declared by *Baggālī* historians to have written in *Braj*, a language as different from *Maithili* as German is from English!! The argument seems to have been something like this. Any poems about *Kriṣṇa* must be in *Braj*, *Bidyāpati*'s poems are about *Kriṣṇa*, therefore (although they admittedly do not possess a single *Braj* inflection) they are in *Braj*.

A number of books were concocted in this language, and it has ever since remained the officially-recognized literary language of Hindūstān. Nowhere is it a vernacular, and it is radically different from the language of Bihār. At the same time, it is closely connected, through its parent Ūrdū, with Braj Bhāshā, and hence is well suited to be the literary language, as it has really become, of North-Western India.

Bihārī, the language to the east of Bais'wāṛī,<sup>1</sup> was not so fortunate as Braj Bhāshā. It is true it had one great poet, Bidyāpatī, who flourished at the end of the fourteenth century, but he wrote in Maithili, the extreme eastern dialect of Bihārī, and had not many followers in his own country. Curiously enough, his principal imitators were Bangālis who, under the influence of Chaitanya, a great admirer of the old master-singer, wrote a number of works in the spurious Maithili found in the Vāiṣṇava-pada-kalpa-taru, a Bangāli compilation of Vāiṣṇava litanies.<sup>2</sup>

Hence Bihārī literature, though old, is small in extent, for neither of the other dialects (Magahī and Bhoj'pūri) developed a great poet strong enough to found a school of literature. If a people, however, has not poems by great masters, it must have songs, and so we find abundant stores of songs of all kinds, some original, and some translated from other languages, in these last two dialects. The peculiarity of all these songs is that the fetters of metre lie upon them very loosely indeed. Bidyāpatī and Tul'sī Dās wrote according to the strictest rules of Pīṇgala, measuring the quantity of every syllable, but in these other songs the melody to which they are sung is the only guide, and so long as the accent or musical ictus is provided for, the author cared little whether his syllables were long or short. Their measure was founded on some well-known metre, as was necessary, for all North Indian melodies are written to suit such; but in reading the songs given here, it will often be necessary to

<sup>1</sup> Bais'wāṛī may be considered as a dialect of Bihārī, but it is really, as already stated, rather a border dialect, though nearer related to Bihārī than to Braj.

<sup>2</sup> The edition of this work which is usually quoted is published by Bāṇī Mādhav Dās & Co., A.D. 1866.

read long syllables as short, and sometimes even the contrary, in order to read them as the poet would have them read.

Many of these songs are of considerable length. For instance, the cycle of ballads concerning the heroes Alhā and Rūdal extends over many thousand lines, and again the Song of Bijāi Mall, or of Nāikā Banijar'wā, though shorter, still takes some hours to sing through. These longer songs, however, are the property of professional singers. It is a business to sing one, and a treat, equivalent in Europe to going to the opera, to hear one. The professional singer or *nāt* sits in the dusk of an Indian cold weather, by the straw fire, and is well plied with spirits as he sings his song to the circle of hearers sitting silently round him smoking their bubble-bubbles.

If these longer songs can be compared to the opera, the shorter ones can be equally well likened to the drawing-room piece. Every stout young fellow with good lungs has a *repertoire* of them, out of which he sings whenever he has nothing better to do, whether alone or in company. He has probably only one tune, to which he fits all his words; and as the tune wanders about through all keys, and generally has a cadenza of twenty or thirty notes every second or third syllable, it is difficult for the European, uneducated to native tastes, to catch what he sings. This paucity of melodies has often struck me. In the country districts<sup>1</sup> I never heard of a new tune being invented. There seems to be a certain stock of tunes ready made, to which the words of every new song must be fitted. Thus, every mill-song must be sung to the melody called '*yāt'adr*', and such songs are classed as *yāt'adrē*. So certain songs sung in the month of Chāit are classed as *ghātōs*, because they are sung to the tune called *ghātō*, and the class of songs sung in the rainy season is called *kay'rī*, which is the name of the air to which they are sung. Some castes have melodies peculiar to them. For instance, only cowherds (*akīrē* or *godrē*) sing the songs

<sup>1</sup> I do not know what is being done in Calcutta, where Rabī Sudhāra Mōhan Tagore has started a revival of Hindū music.

classified as *chāchare* and *bir'hdas*, which are sung to the tunes called *chāchar* and *bir'hdā* respectively.

Of this last class I have collected forty-two in the Bhoj'pūrī dialect alone, all sung to the same melody. They form a portion of the present collection. I cannot say that they possess much literary excellence; on the contrary, some of them are the merest doggerel; but they are valuable as being one of the few trustworthy exponents which we have of the inner thoughts and desires of the people. The Bir'hā is essentially a wild flower. To use the language of one of them, "it is not cultivated in the field, nor is it borne upon the branches of the fruit-tree. It dwells in the heart, and when a man's heart overflows, he sings it." Contrary to what might have been expected, it deals much oftener with the warrior god Rāma, than with the cowherd god Kṛiṣṇa. Six of the following relate to the former, and only one to the latter. This is the consequence of the singers' surroundings. Shāhābād, the district in which they dwell, might almost be called a second Rāj'putānā in its heroic legends and songs. It is the land made holy by the blood of Bhag'batī the Rāj'pūtin, who drowned herself to save her brother from the hands of the Musalmāns, and it is the birth-land of Ālhā and Rūdal, the heroes of Mahōbā. In later times, too, tough-hearted old Kūar Singh led the Shāhābād Rāj'pūts against the English in the mutiny. It is a country of fighting-men, and as such Rāma of Ayōdhyā and not Kṛiṣṇa of Mathurā is the god of the land. The Bir'hās also deal with other deities, e.g. with the special incarnation of Durgā, which is the tutelary deity of the singer's village. At one time he invokes her presence, offering her the best thing that a cowherd can offer her—a river of milk; at another he complains of the rapacity of his goddess, who demands milk when his cows are far away; shall he, he asks sarcastically, milk the Banyan tree, or would she prefer him to milk the wild fig? Again, the singer dwells on the iniquities of the *kali*- or iron-age. He complains how men of the very lowest castes are allowed to become pious (quite a subversion of orthodox Hindū con-

servatism), and how even spirit-sellers may be seen counting their beads on a rosary. Many are the Bir'hās which describe the charms which adorn and the temptations which beset the pretty young village maidens whose forms are developing from childhood into womanhood. As in India girls are married in their infancy, these girls are all wives, though their husbands have not yet taken them home. Hence we find girls complaining of the non-arrival of their husband, and a number of not very delicate jokes which the village elders (men and women) launch at a girl when she first becomes *apta viro*. Sometimes, too, we find the girl, half-pleased, half-angry, relating the attentions paid to her by some village swain who met her as she walked through the forest. Again, we have songs referring to a woman's married life. She is now living in her husband's house, and she hyperbolically describes the slimness of her form, as reminding him of the string by which he lowers his drinking vessel into the well. Or, perhaps, as often happens, the husband is away on service and sends his earnings home, which are not always put to legitimate uses.

Even when away from home on service, the cowherd longs for his congenial occupations, and looks back to the happy days when he wandered free over the rich pastures on the Kāimūr Hills.<sup>1</sup> Or he looks contemptuously at the elaborate preparations of wrestlers and gymnasts, and tells how the young Ahīr would only need to tuck up his waist cloth, and could do just as much. There are many other kinds of Bir'hās in the present collection than those now described, but the above will serve to show their infinite variety, and how each one is a miniature picture of some phase of village life.

Regarding external form, a Bir'hā consists of two pairs of two lines each, each pair being founded on the following scheme.

6+4+4+2, 4+4+3 instants,  
or else 6+4+4+2, 4+4+4 instants.

<sup>1</sup> The principal pasture land of Shāhābād. They are to the south of the district, and are a branch of the Vindhya range.

In reading them, however, they will rarely be found to agree with this, unless we remember, as already noted, that many long syllables (*i.e.* two instants) must be read as short (*i.e.* one instant). Sometimes, too, there are superfluous words which do not form part of the metre.<sup>1</sup> In regular poetry such superfluous words are technically known as *jör*.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the dialect of the following songs, it is tolerably pure Bhoj'pūrī, such as is exhibited in the Bhoj'pūrī grammar already referred to. There are, however, a few old survivals, or vulgarisms (whichever one may choose to call them), which may here be noted.

The first and most important is the constant use of the genitives of pronouns in their original construction as possessive adjectives. The originals of these genitives were certainly possessive adjectives in Apabhrāmaṇa Prākṛit, e.g. *tōhār* 'of you,' which is the same as the Ap. Pr. *tuhār*, is translated by Hēmachandra as *tradiyāḥ*, and not as *tava*.<sup>3</sup> That is to say, they were possessive adjectives, and liable to inflection for gender, and were not substantival genitives. These words, in modern Bhoj'pūrī, as spoken by the educated classes, have now become substantival genitives, and are not liable to inflection for gender.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the lower orders however, the old adjectival construction has survived, and hence we find many feminine genitive forms.<sup>5</sup>

Another survival is the old Prākṛit Present Indicative. This tense has indeed survived over almost all Hindūstān, but has in the modern tongues generally become (as in Bihārī) the Present Subjunctive. This was specially the case in Bhoj'pūrī, which possesses another special Present Indicative formed with the suffix *lä*.<sup>6</sup> In these songs, however, this old tense is frequently used in its original

<sup>1</sup> *e.g.* देखि in line 2, and देखि in line 3 of No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> For an example, see J.A.S.B. Part i. No. 1, 1885, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> See Hēm. iv. 434.

<sup>4</sup> They still, however, retain an adjectival oblique form. See Bh. Gr. § 34.

<sup>5</sup> The instances are *mōri*, 9, 4; 21, 4; 43, 18, 19. *hamari*, 44, 5; 45, 10. *hamariyā* (lg. f.), 9, 1. *āpani*, 4, 3. *jēkari*, 6, 3.

<sup>6</sup> See Bh. Grammar, § 61a. *dēkhelō* 'I see,' *dēkhilū* 'we see,' *dēkhelō* 'thou seest,' *dēkhelā* 'you see,' *dēkhelā* 'he sees,' *dēkhelan* 'they see.'

sense of a Present Indicative, and every occurrence of this use will be found noted in the Index.

As in other Bihārī dialects, the rules of number and gender are very laxly observed. The singular is frequently used for the plural and *vice versa*. As a rule the singular is used in a non-honorific or disrespectful sense, and the plural in an honorific or respectful sense. It should also be noted that the masculine is continually used for the feminine.

The rules for the shortening of the antepenultimate vowel are given at length in § 36 of the General Introduction to the seven grammars of the Bihār dialects, and in the introduction to the comparative dictionary of the Bihārī language, and need not be repeated here. It may nevertheless be noted, that while in Bhoj'pūrī a long ा a is usually shortened to ा a, in these songs it is sometimes shortened to an older form ा a.<sup>1</sup> Examples are *dmawā*, from *dm* (18, 1), instead of *amawā*,<sup>2</sup> and *akhirō* instead of *akhirō*, from *akhir* (12, 4).

Some masculine nouns, it may also be noted, are given feminine long forms in a diminutive sense. The instances of occurrence are given in the index. An example is *dehiyā* instead of *dehwā* (22, 2; 26, 1).

In conclusion, I desire to record my obligations again to Babu Siv Nandan Lāl Rāy, Deputy Magistrate of Pat'nā, to whom I am indebted for much help in the collecting and translating of these songs.

### ॥ अथ विरहा के सङ्ग्रह ॥

#### I.

सुमिरी गाँझौं राम, सुमिरी भैया लक्ष्मण  
सुसिरी गाँझौं सकल बहान  
सुमिरी गाँझौं प्रहि माता ए पिता के  
बिनि लरिका से फैखी हाँ सेआन

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the two pairs of vowels ा a and ा a, and ा a and ा a, see Introduction (Chap. IV.), and article ा a in the Bihārī Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup> But instr. *amawā* in 38, 3.

I call to mind<sup>1</sup> Rām, as I sing; I call to mind his brother Lachīhuman.<sup>2</sup> As I sing, I call the whole world<sup>3</sup> to mind. As I sing, I call to mind this mother and this<sup>4</sup> father, who<sup>5</sup> brought me up from childhood to the age of discretion.

<sup>1</sup> सुमिरी has its final vowel lengthened *metri gratia*. सुमिर is first verbal noun of वृसुमिर 'call to mind,' used instead of the conj. part,

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Lakshman.

<sup>3</sup> अहान् is the Pers. جهان.

<sup>4</sup> ए is a contracted form of यहि, which is the adjectival obl. base of the pronoun है 'this.'

<sup>5</sup> Lit. 'Who from a boy, made me become grown up.' चिन्ह or चिनि is an old form of चिन्हान्, the nom. pl. of जे 'who.' See Bh. Gr. § 28. किली हा is honorific 3rd pl. perf. In Bh. the most usual form of the perfect is made by adding the word हूँ 'is,' to any form of the preterite. कहलो or किलो 'I did,' किली हा 'I have done'; किलो 'you did,' किलो हूँ 'you have done,' and so on; see Bh. Gr. § 71. It will be seen that this mode of forming the perfect is radically different from that in vogue in the Western or Hindi group of dialects.

## II.

राम जि के भेल जनमवा जनमवा  
बाबेला अजोधा मेँ ढोल  
घर घर कौपेला गरभी रवमवा  
जनमल सुदरया ना मोर

The birth, the birth of Rām has taken place, and the drums are being beaten in Ajodhyā. The proud<sup>1</sup> Rāwan quakes and trembles, saying, my enemy<sup>2</sup> has been born.

<sup>1</sup> गरभी is a corruption of गर्भी.

<sup>2</sup> सुदरया is long form of سودری (سُوڈری), almost exclusively used to mean 'enemy,' except in the law courts, where it means 'plaintiff' or 'complainant.'

## III.

अच्छा काम नाही कैसू, प्र केकर  
 मारेलू बरेजवा में बान  
 सगरे अजोध्या के राम प्र दुष्कर्षा  
 ते के दिलू हाँ बन-बास

*Das'rath is represented as addressing Kākēyi, who procured Rām's banishment.*

A good deed hast thou not done, O Kēkaï. Thou hast shot an arrow into my heart. Rām was the beloved of all<sup>1</sup> Ajodhyā, and him hast thou made an exile in the forest.

<sup>1</sup> सगरे is emphatic for सगरा.

## IV.

राम त° राम त° रघुनन्दन पुकारेले  
 जिसे गोखुला में गोपी काँध  
 आपनि महसिया ले सीता जि पुकारेली  
 कहाँ लछुमन गेले राम

*The departure of Rām into exile.*

Raghunandan<sup>1</sup> calls out 'Rām, Rām,' as urgently as the cowherdesses in Gōkula called for Kānh.<sup>2</sup> From her own little palace<sup>3</sup> Sītā cries out, 'O Lachhuman, whither is Rām gone?'

<sup>1</sup> Raghunandan is, of course, a synonym of Rām. The poet has, apparently, forgotten this. Perhaps he meant to say Bharat.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Kṛiṣṇa. काँध = कान्ध, according to a law of Bihārī spelling that when *anunāsik* is followed by the third or fourth consonant of any class, the two together may be represented by the nasal of the class or nasal of the class aspirated respectively. Thus, आँग or आँउ 'a limb,' गीँद or गी॒न 'sleep,' कोँद or को॒रह 'a pumpkin,' काँध or कान्ध 'Kṛiṣṇa.'

<sup>3</sup> महसिया is long form of महाल (سال), made feminine, to give a diminutive sense. See note on देहिया in No. 26.

## V.

राम लक्ष्मण दूनो बनवा चलते  
 सीता चलति हाँ सङ्ग-सोरि  
 राम लक्ष्मण के तँ खावति पिछसिया  
 सीता देखि अमिरित घोरि

Rām and Lachhman both departed to the forest, and Sītā has accompanied<sup>1</sup> them. When Rām and Lachhman felt thirsty, Sītā mixed ambrosia,<sup>2</sup> and gave it them (to drink).

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* ‘Went with them on a Lorry.’ सोरि or सोरी is a curious instance of the adoption of an English word. With the introduction of railways into India the Lorry or Trolley became a familiar sight, and its name has been extended to mean a railway train. Hence, सङ्ग-सोरी ‘a railway companion,’ and hence, again, ‘a companion in general.’

<sup>2</sup> Ambrosia is here a drink = nectar.

## VI.

काहेलि मन्दोदरी सुनं०, पिथा रावण  
 तूँ तैं लक्ष्मण के हँवं० बीर  
 जेकरि तिरियवा तुँझे हरि ले ऐसे  
 से द्वै तैं बसे सरजू के तीर

Saith Mandōdari, ‘Hear, dear Rāwan. You are the hero of Laṅkā. He whose dear little wife<sup>1</sup> you have carried off, dwells on the banks of the Sar’jū.’

<sup>1</sup> तिरियवा is a redundant form of तिरी ‘a woman,’ used in a diminutive sense, with the genitive of the relative pronoun, also feminine. Cf. No. 9 and No. 45, v. 10.

## - VII.

पुरिन विनेवें एकल राम के  
 दहवा मैं परच्छू अकेलि  
 पतवा तूर तूर जाला भोज-सरवा  
 फूल घड़े तेकर महादेव

*The efficacy of prayer.*

The lotus plant prays to Rām and no one else, saying, 'I am here alone in the pond.'<sup>1</sup>

So its leaves are broken off and go to the feasting-chamber, while its flowers mount upon Shiv himself.

<sup>1</sup> This beautiful legend shows how prayers are answered by the ever-pitying Rām. At a feast the dishes are made of lotus leaves, and hence the lotus plant now gets admission to the tables of the great. Its flowers, too, are offered to Mahādēb (Civa), by being thrown upon his image; and what greater glory can there be than to be borne upon the head of the upholder of the Heavenly Ganges itself? पतवा is long form of पात (= Skr. पत्र) 'a leaf.' जाला is 3 pres. of √जा. सरवा is long form of सार् (= Shr. शार्) 'a ball.'

## VIII.

मने मन झाँखेला फेड़वा सिमरवा ।  
 के काहे फुलवा भोर लाल ॥  
 काहे फुलवा ना घड़े इसरी देवतवा  
 के काहे मलिथा ना गुहे हार

In his heart, in his heart, mourns the silk-cotton tree,<sup>1</sup> saying, 'Why are my flowers red? Why are my flowers not offered to Durgā,<sup>2</sup> and the gods? Why does the gardener not string garlands of them?'

<sup>1</sup> This tree is noted for its glorious red blossoms. It is a stock simile-subject in Hindū poetry; for while it is fair to look upon, it is worthless, for it has no scent. फेड़वा is long form of फेड़ 'a tree' = the Hindi पेढ़.

<sup>2</sup> इसरी = Skr. ईश्वरी.

## IX.

हमरिया देविया भुखीली, रे भेड़ा  
 मौंगेलि पियनवा के दूध  
 चरवा दूहों कि चरोहिया, रे चरवा  
 मोरि बिना गेलि हाँ चड़ि दूर

My dear little tutelary goddess<sup>1</sup> has become hungry,<sup>2</sup> and she asks for milk to drink. Shall I milk the Banyan tree (*Ficus Indica*) or the wild fig,<sup>3</sup> for my cattle have gone a long way off?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> देविया is long form of देवी, in a diminutive sense. This is emphasized by the personal pronoun, which is the genitive, thrown into the form of an adjective, made feminine, and given a long form (हमरिया).

<sup>2</sup> भुखीलि is 3 pret. fem. potential passive of भ्रुख 'be hungry'; as against भुखीलि, which would be causal. See Bh. Gr. § 101.

<sup>3</sup> I do not know the botanical name of the Barohi tree. It is one of the fig tribe. चरवा is long form of चार (चार).

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of this song is well illustrated in the proverb 'One can't get milk out of a stone.' The man from whom milk is demanded says, 'I suppose I am expected to milk the fig trees, for I have no other source from which to get any milk.'

## X.

देविया देविया पुकारे देवी सारधा  
 देवी सरजे मैं मेहराह  
 तोहरा के देवों देवी दुधवा के धारवा  
 सरगे के ना उतरि ना आज

'O dear little goddess, dear little goddess,' he calls, 'O goddess Sār'dhā.<sup>1</sup> The goddess is hovering above in the sky. I will give you, O goddess, a whole river of milk. Only come now down from heaven.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a corruption of शारदा, a name (here) of Durgā.

<sup>2</sup> सरजे के. Here के is sign of the abl. (Cf. No. 21 and No. 43, v. 2),

and सरगे is obl. of सरग. *i.e.* सरग has taken the Ap. Pr. term. हि, and contracted it into ह. हि in Ap. Pr. was originally a loc. termination, but rapidly became a general termination for all oblique cases. See Essays on the Bihārī Declension, J.A.S.B. p. 13, vol. iii. part 1, 1883.

## XI.

दिहवा दिहवा पुकारे दिहवरवा  
 ढीह सुतले हा निरभेद  
 तोहरा गरभ चड़ि ऐखी रे दिहवा  
 पहिल बोलिया ना राखे मोर

The village god cries out, 'O village, village,' but the village sleeps soundly (and answers not), 'I came hither riding on your womb, O village, and you do not answer my first call.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Dihwār* is the tutelary deity of the village. There is a separate one to each township. He is said often to be heard calling out over the fields at night, especially when worshippers are lax in their attentions to him. The creation of a new township creates, of course, a new *Dihwār*, which explains the latter half of the song.

## XII.

बने बने गैया चरावेले कन्हैया  
 घरे घरे जोरेले पिरीति  
 अनका मौगि के सान मारि ऐसे  
 आखिरो तँ आत अहीर

From wood to wood doth Kanhaiyā<sup>1</sup> tend the cattle, and from house to house doth he make love. He winks<sup>2</sup> at others'<sup>3</sup> wives; but what can one expect? Is he not after all but an Ahir by caste?

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Kṛiṣṇa. The song deals with the amours of Kṛiṣṇa. Some one

complains of these, and says, 'but what can be expected of a mere ahir, or cowherd?' not recognising his divinity. घे and घरे are locatives = the Ap. Pr. घनहि and घरहि. See No. 10.

<sup>1</sup> साथ is Skr. संस्था, Pr. सथा.

<sup>2</sup> आनका is an oblique form. It is obl. of आनक 'of another,' gen. of आन 'another.' आंखिरो is emphatic for आंखिर (अंखी).

### XIII.

एक समे हरि घोरा भेले  
बरहा भेले खगाम  
चान सुख्य दूनो पायक भेले  
केज चड़ि ना गेले चतुर सुआन

One time Hari became a horse, and Brahmā became the bridle. The moon and the sun became wheels, and some clever and wise man mounted him.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have never met this legend elsewhere, nor can any one whom I have asked explain it to me. This song exists, and that is all I can find out on the subject.

### XIV.

जाण के रहलों तीरथ दुआरिका  
बसुला सान धरवाइ  
सीता हथवा ना गड़ों चीकी बेलवा  
राम के धनुखवा वान

I had a mind to go on a pilgrimage to Dwārikā, after sharpening my axe. I make with it a paste-board and rolling-pin for the hands of Sītā, and a bow and arrows for Rām.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This song is simply nonsense. Dwārikā (the capital of Kṛiṣṇa) does not exist nowadays, being said to have been submerged under the sea.

## XV.

सुधरी ना गङ्गा सुठारळि, १ रामा  
 भगत भेदे चमार  
 राम जि का हथवा का तुलसि के मखवा  
 कलजा जपेला कलवार

*What happens in the Kali Yuga.*

O Rāmā, pigs drink in the holy Ganges and pollute it, and Chamārs (the lowest caste, are allowed to become) pious men.<sup>2</sup> O, yea, a spirit-seller counts the beads on a rosary of Rām's own hand in this Kali<sup>3</sup> age.

<sup>1</sup> √सुठार = Hindi √सुठाल ‘to pollute vessels by touching them. Another form of the same root is √कुटिआच, see No. 47, 1. 2.

<sup>2</sup> भगत is a technical term, meaning a pious and learned man devoted to the worship and literature of Rām.

<sup>3</sup> कलजा is an irregular long form of कल or कलि, as if for Ap. Pr. कलिकू, or कलिऊ.

## XVI.

गोरि गोरि बैहियाँ गोरि गोदना गोदावेले  
 सुइया साले अलहर करेज  
 ऐसन गोदना गोदू गोदनरिया  
 जिसे धूदरि रझेला रँगरेज

Her arms are fair, are fair, and the fair one is getting herself tattooed. The needle pierces her tender heart. ‘O thou woman who art tattooing me, tattoo such a tattoo-pattern on me as the dyer dyes on a bordered veil.’<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is an obscure song. It seems to mean that the pain of tattooing is only comparatively slight, even if a pattern as intricate as that on a bordered veil is tattooed on a person. The real pain which the girl feels is the thorn (or needle) in her heart caused by separation from her lover. Compare No. 5 of an unpublished set of Bir'hās in the Magahi dialect which are in my possession,

बोरी बातन मौं गोदना गोदवि, जे, सुख्या चूभि चूभि जाथ,  
 देस देस के दिल-बैहा, बे, बोदवि, जे, पिथवा चिनु हरद कैसे जाथ,  
 'If you will have tattooing done on your fair body, the needle will  
 prick you as it goes along. You may summon heart-doctors of all  
 lands, but without your beloved, how will the pain depart?'

## XVII.

पिसना के परिकल्प मुसरिया तुसरिया  
 दुधवा के परिकल्प बिलारि  
 आपन आपन जोबना सम्हारिहे बेटिउचा  
 रहरि में लागल वा झँझार

Rats and the like<sup>1</sup> are accustomed<sup>2</sup> to (eating) flour, and  
 the cat to milk. O ye girls,<sup>3</sup> be careful of your bosoms, for  
 there is a wolf<sup>4</sup> lurking in the Rahar.

<sup>1</sup> तुसरिया is a rhyming repetition of मुसरिया, which is long form  
 of मुसरी 'a rat.'

<sup>2</sup> परिकल्प = 'accustomed to.'

<sup>3</sup> बेटिउचा is for बेटिउचौचा, which is a contraction of बेटिउचवा,  
 redundant form of बेटो.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. a gallant. The Rahari or Rahar (*Cytisus Cajan*) is a tall  
 shrub, bearing a kind of pea. It is grown in large fields, and offers  
 rare opportunities for concealment. Nearly every highway robbery in  
 Bihār, and other crimes involving an unexpected attack, take place  
 near a *Rahar* field.

## XVIII.

आमवा के लागेले टिकोरवा, रे सँगिया,  
 गुङ्गरि फरेले हङ्ग-फोर  
 गोरिया का उठले हाँ छाती के जोबनवा  
 पिथा के खेलवना रे होरे

The young mangos<sup>1</sup> are forming on the mango tree, my  
 friend, and the wild-fig is laden with abundant<sup>2</sup> fruit (i.e. it  
 is spring-time). The fair damsel's budding bosom<sup>3</sup> is  
 developing on her breast,—to be the toy of her beloved.

<sup>1</sup> टिकोरवा is long form of टिकोरा 'an immature mango.'

<sup>2</sup> हठ़-फोड़ means 'abundant, full.' Natives connect it with the phrase हठ फोड़ बोचास, which means to sow with a drill-plough in a field which has been previously ploughed. This is said to give an abundant crop.

<sup>3</sup> जोवन, of which जोवनवा is the long form, means specially the budding bosom of a young maiden.

### XIX.

गोरि के छतिया पर उडेला जोवनवा  
हसेला सहरिया के लोग  
सेवू गोरि दमवा देवू, हौ, जोवनवा  
तोरा से अतनवा ना होई

The budding bosom is developing on the breast of the fair one,<sup>1</sup> and the people of the village<sup>2</sup> smile (as they watch her). 'Will you take their price, and give me your bosom, for you will never be able to take care of it yourself?'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See No. 18.

<sup>2</sup> सहर (سہر) is masculine. Here it takes a feminine long form in a diminutive sense.

<sup>3</sup> A specimen of the not very delicate jokes which villagers bandy amongst each other. The last verse is literally 'by you, efforts (अतनवा, lg. f. of अतन = अल) it will not be (successful).'

### XX.

एक बने उहरेला हड्डटी चिड्डटी  
एक बने उहरेले गार  
एक बने उहरेलि आहीरिनि बेटिया  
दूनो चूचे बुधुरा खगार

In one forest wander the ants and the like,<sup>1</sup> and in another the kine. In another wanders the cowherd damsel, with bells fastened on each bosom.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> हड्डटी is simply a rhyming repetition of चिड्डटी. This comparison

of the mait of ants, of cattle, and of a pretty girl is common in these songs, in the Magahi songs (No. 8) already quoted, occurs the passage—

आजु बहवाँ से निकले चूँटी, बहवाँ से धेनु गाय  
बहवाँ से निकले मालिन बेटिया, गे, बटिया छुँघटवा देखे बाय,  
'Wherefrom has the ant issued to-day, and wherefrom the milch-cow;  
and wherefrom issues the gardener's daughter, who goes along the  
road veiling her face?'

<sup>2</sup> चूचे is loc. of चूच or चूची 'the nipple of the bosom.'

## XXI.

बघसर के गोरिया अकसर चलती  
भरि मौग मोतिया गुहारै  
कवना चेलिकवा के नवरी परती  
मोरि मोतिया गिरेते भहरारै

From Bagh'sar<sup>1</sup> started the fair<sup>2</sup> one alone,<sup>3</sup> having strung<sup>4</sup> the whole parting of her hair<sup>5</sup> with pearls. 'Who<sup>6</sup> was the gallant swain whose gaze fell upon me, so that (in my agitation) my pearls are falling crashing<sup>7</sup> to the ground.'

<sup>1</sup> Bagh'sar (or the Tiger-pond)= *vulgo* Buxar, the capital of the Pāl'gauā of Bhoj'pūr, where the Bhoj'pūrī dialect is spoken in its purest. *से* is a common ablative postposition in Bh. Cf. No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> गोरिया is long form of गोरी.

<sup>3</sup> सर in अकसर or उकसर is the ordinal termination, which also appears in दोसर 'second,' तेसर 'third,' etc.; see art. अकसर in Comp. Dic. of Bih. Language.

<sup>4</sup> In गुहारै, and in भहरारै in the fourth line, the final ई is lengthened for the sake of metre. मोतिया is long form of मोती.

<sup>5</sup> मौग is the parting of a woman's hair, which is covered with vermillion, and otherwise adorned as long as her husband is alive.

<sup>6</sup> कवना is obl. form of कवन or कौन, the adjectival form of the Interrogative Pronoun कौन.

<sup>7</sup> Bate's Hindi Dictionary gives the verb भहराना as meaning 'to totter, to stagger.' In Bhoj'pūrī the corresponding root भहरा means rather 'to fall with a crash,' or 'in a heap.'

## XXII.

वहे पुर्वीया ऐसी जन्मदेया  
 ठाड़ि देहिया रे महिया ए  
 जवला चैसिकला के नजरी परखी  
 मोरा घरवा बनवा एको ना सोहाए

The east wind blows, and yawning<sup>1</sup> has come upon me.  
 As I stand, my poor little body<sup>2</sup> is filled with lassitude.  
 Who was the gallant swain whose gaze fell upon me<sup>3</sup>?  
 Neither<sup>4</sup> my home nor the forest pleases me.

<sup>1</sup> पुर्वीया and जन्मदेया are long forms of पुर्वार and जन्मधार respectively.

<sup>2</sup> See note on देहिया in No. 26.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 21.

<sup>4</sup> एको is emphatic for युक 'not even one.'

## XXIII.

रसवा के भेवसी भैवरवा के संगिया  
 रसवा से ऐसे हाँ थोर  
 अतिगार रसवा मैं केकरा के धृटबैं  
 सगरी नगरी हित मोर

O friend, I sent the bee for (sugar cane) juice, and little juice has he brought me. With so little juice, to whom can I distribute any of it, for all the people of the village are (equally) my friends?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This song contains a *double-entendre*. भैवर (of which भैवरवा is long form) is continually used to mean 'a lover,' as well as 'a bee.' So also रस (of which रसवा is the long form) means 'love' as well as 'juice.' Hence the girl means that she has only enough love for one person.

## XXIV.

पातरि रहव्यूं पातरि होर गीर्व्यूं  
 गीर्व्यूं लोटवा के डोर  
 अपना सामिद्या जि के पनिया पियवर्व्यूं  
 बिनु लोटवा ना बिनु डोर

I was slender, and more slender I became. I became as slender as a drinking vessel's string.<sup>1</sup> I gave my husband water to drink,<sup>2</sup> without a vessel and without a string (*i.e.* I served for such myself).

<sup>1</sup> This comparison of a slender maiden to the string by which a *lōṣā* or drinking vessel is let down into a well, is very common in poems of this class; *e.g.* in the set of Bir'hās in the Magahi dialect already quoted from, the following passage occurs: कहवाँ से चलूँ है, तू गोरी, अङ्ग-पतरी जैसे कुर्त्याँ भैं देखों डोर, अपने बलमुआ के पनियाँ पिलायाँ, गे, बिनु लोटवैं, बिनु डोर 'Whence do you come, O fair one? I see you slender in form, like the string in a well.' '(I am so slender) that I can give my beloved to drink, even when he has no drinking vessel, and no string.' This piece of ridiculous hyperbole is repeated in the present song.

<sup>2</sup> पियवर्व्यूं is poet. for the more usual contracted form पियोर्व्यूं.

## XXV.

बेठलि साबेले बटसोहिया गोरिया  
 तूरेले गेड़ाभवा पर तान  
 बेतिनाँ के सैँयाँ इमार करेले गोकरिया  
 हम ओतिनाँ के कचरीला पान

The fair one sits as she cleans the saucepan,<sup>1</sup> and sings a song (to the music she makes) on the cup.<sup>2</sup>

(She sings) 'All that my husband makes by his service, so much eat I in betel alone.'

<sup>1</sup> The बटसोही is a vessel (generally made of alloy) used for cooking pulse or meat. It is smaller than the बटुआ. See Bihar Peasant Life (London, Trübner), § 664.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. as she cleans the cup, she sings to it. ताज तूरब, lit. 'to break a measure' means 'to sing.'

<sup>3</sup> जेतिर्हाँ is a bye-form of the more common जतिर्हाँ, see Bh. Gr. § 32. √कचर means to 'stuff' or 'gorge oneself.' जोकरिया is long form of जोकरी. The song alludes to the custom of the males of the family going out on service and sending their earnings home, where they are not always put to their legitimate uses. Or it may mean that the husband sends so little money home that she has only enough to buy betel with.

## XXVI.

पिया पिया कहत पोछरि भेलि देहिया  
 लोगवा कहेवा पिंड-रोग  
 गौँआ के लोगवा मरमियो ना आनेले  
 भेले गैवगदाँ ना मोर

As I constantly call<sup>1</sup> 'Beloved, beloved,' my poor little body<sup>2</sup> has turned pale. The neighbours say I have got consumption.<sup>3</sup> But the village neighbours know not the secret<sup>4</sup> cause,—it is that my husband has not come to take me to his home.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> कहत is pres. part.

<sup>2</sup> देह 'a body,' is masculine. Here, however, it is used as a feminine, and given a feminine long form, to give it a diminutive sense, 'my poor little body.'

<sup>3</sup> I do not know what doctors would call the disease here called पिंड-रोग. Natives describe it to me as a wasting disease, in which the body turns pale. लोगवा is long form of लोग.

<sup>4</sup> मरम = a secret (Skr. मर्म). The termination इयो adds emphasis, 'they have not an idea of the secret.' It is really an emphasized fem. long form, like देहिया, मरमिया + यो.

<sup>5</sup> गैवगदाँ is long form of गैवग or गमग. This is the ceremony performed when a bride becomes *apta viro*, and her husband (to whom she has been married years previously) comes to her parents' house to take her to his home. Here the girl complains that though she is ready for the ceremony, her husband does not come for her.

## XXVII.

निया के कुटसे गणरिया गणरिया  
 नज़ूक वि के कुटसे बहान  
 पकड़ी तर के कुटसे उठका बेठका  
 तीनो ना छोडवसे भगवान्

*Song of a homeless cowherd.*

The watching, the watching of my cows is no more ; no more is the bathing in the holy Ganges. No more is the evening talk<sup>1</sup> at the foot of the citron fig,—these three hath God taken from me.

<sup>1</sup> ‘The getting up and sitting down.’ The phrase commonly means the meeting of friends every evening for a smoke and talk.

## XXVIII.

धुरिया खगावे धुरियाहावा कहावे  
 गिरही मारेले फरिवाह  
 उलटा दोकल्पा मारे अहिरा बलकपा  
 जिनकर बदुरि नैवेले करिहाव

They who are called<sup>1</sup> wrestlers apply dust to their bodies (before wrestling), and the gymnast wields his loaded stick<sup>2</sup> (before performing). But the young cowherd<sup>3</sup> just tucks up his waistcloth, by which his ribs are tightly bound up.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> कहावे is 3rd pres. potential passive, as against कहावेले, which is causal. See Bh. Gr. § 89.

<sup>2</sup> फरी is a long stick, loaded at each end, which is flourished by gymnasts.

<sup>3</sup> बलकपा is long form of बालक. अहिरा is strong form of अहीर. दोकल्पा is long form of दोकाह ‘a tight double-waist-cloth.’ Cf. Bihar Peasant Life, § 726.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. ‘By (or of) which the body above the waist (करिहाव) having contracted (बदुरि) bends (नैवेले).’

## XXIX.

बहु निक लागेले नीया के गपरिया  
 थीं तँ मूँह्वाँ परती होए  
 बहु निक लागेले मेहरी के गोदवा  
 बब से लरिकवा नाँ होए

It is very pleasant<sup>1</sup> to tend<sup>2</sup> the kine, if there is plenty of pasture.<sup>3</sup> A wife's lap is very pleasant, as long as no children come.

<sup>1</sup> निक or जीक is the regular Bihāri word for 'good,' 'pleasant'—the Hindi अच्छा. Cf. Rāmāyan Bā. do. 35, राम निकाई रावरी हि सबही को जीक। जो यह सौंची है तो जीको तुलसी क 'O Rām, your goodness is good to all, and if that is true, then good to Tul'si also.' लागेले, with long antepenultimate, is the present indicative, as against लागेले with shortened antepenult., which is the pret. ind. See Bihāri Grammar, Introd. § 36, 3, and Bh. Gr. § 61a, and § 61b.

<sup>2</sup> गपरिया or गेरिया is the act of tending cattle, as it were for गोआरी, Skr. गोपालिका.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'If the land is fallow,' i.e. 'produces no crop.' Cattle in India are always pastured on fallow or *par'ī* lands. The simile here is to a barren wife.

## XXX.

कछुरै बिथिलि हाँ कछुआ, प्र रामा  
 गङ्गा जि बिथिलि हाँ रेत  
 छोटि छोटि बेटिया तैं बेटवा बिथिलि हाँ  
 बबर परी ना प्रहि पेट

O Rāmā, the she-tortoise has borne<sup>1</sup> a he-tortoise, and the Ganges has borne a sand-bank. Little, little girls<sup>2</sup> have brought forth boys. May a thunderbolt fall on all these wombs.

<sup>1</sup> All these are perfects with हृ, see No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Not necessarily young girls, but rather, 'All the pretty young women in the neighbourhood.' The song alludes to those epidemics of births which occasionally occur everywhere.

## XXXI.

तलवा धरेले कैवल कुम्हलिले,  
 हस रोए विरह विदोग,  
 रोचत बाड़ी सरवन के माता  
 के कावर टोहड़ी मोर

The pond is dried up, the lotus is withered,<sup>1</sup> and the swan bewails his separation from his beloved. Sar'wan's<sup>2</sup> mother weeps, saying who will carry<sup>3</sup> my *kāvar* now.

<sup>1</sup> धरेले and कुम्हलिले are potential passives.

<sup>2</sup> The hero of a great many poems, principally in the Magahi and Bhoj'puri dialects.

<sup>3</sup> √टो 'carry.' The कावर or कामर is the Hindū name for the stick carried across the shoulder, from each end of which baskets or other burdens are suspended. The Urdu name for it is *bahangī*.

## XXXII.

इथवा मैं ढारले घरेउआ रम-रेखवा  
 गरवा मैं ढारले उद्राछ  
 लखकी पगरिया बान्ह के घरवा  
 जानी के उहरले वा जात

Rām-Rēkhā has put bangles<sup>1</sup> on his arm, and on his neck an Ud'rāchh. The lover has tied on a red turban, and is carrying off his sweetheart.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> घरेउआ or घरेली is a kind of bracelet peculiar to the Goālā caste. Ud'rāchh is the उद्राष्ठ or necklace worn by Čāiva mendicants (see Bihar Peasant Life, §§ 707, 781).

<sup>2</sup> The last line is literally 'he has carried off (उहरले वा) his sweetheart (जानी ले) and is going.' घरवा is long form of घार (पार). जानी=جاني.

## XXXIII.

किसे चिन्हले हाँ आपन गुरु, प्र गायत  
 किसे चिन्हले हाँ गुरु-भाइ  
 किसे चिन्हले हाँ आपन पिता, प्र गायत  
 किसे चिन्हले हाँ बुढ़ि-माइ

O singer, how did you recognize your spiritual preceptor,  
and how your brother disciple?

O singer, how did you recognize your father, and how  
your old<sup>1</sup> mother?

<sup>1</sup> बुढ़ि-माइ is a compound of बुढ़ि, fem. of बुढ़ूँ old, and माइ. Hence the बूँ of बुढ़ि is shortened, as it comes before the penultimate.

## XXXIV.

कगवा फूँकत हम गुरु कैंचिन्हलो<sup>2</sup>  
 सँगवा साव गुरु-भाइ  
 चैथिया चेठल पिता कैंचिन्हलो<sup>2</sup>  
 दुधवा पीयत बुढ़ि-माइ

*Answer to the last.*

I recognized my spiritual preceptor, at the time of whispering in the ear,<sup>1</sup> and the brother disciple through association.<sup>2</sup> When I sat upon his thigh, I recognized my father, and, when I drank her milk, my old mother.

<sup>1</sup> कगवा is long form of बाल. The allusion is to the communication of the स्वमन्त्र by the *Guru* to his disciple. Every follower of the शैव religion must have a *Guru* or spiritual preceptor, to whom he is *chēlā*, or disciple. The *Guru* communicates to each disciple a peculiar charm, consisting principally of meaningless words, such as *hūṁ*, *krīṁ*, etc. This is communicated in a whisper, and is never divulged. The charm is called the *chēlā's swa-mantra*, and the ceremony of communication creates the relationship of *Guru* and *Chēlā*. See my forthcoming edition of the *Yōgini Tantra* in the *Bibliotheca Indica* for further particulars.

<sup>2</sup> सँगवा is long form of साल, चैथिया of जाँघ, दुधवा of दूध.

## XXXV.

का भेले तोर गुरु, प्र गायन

का भेले गुरु-भाई

का भेले तोर पिता, प्र गायन

का भेली बुढ़ि-माई

O singer, what<sup>1</sup> has become of your preceptor, and what of your brother disciple?

O singer, what has become of your father, and what of your old mother?

<sup>1</sup> का is the regular Bhoj'puri form for the neuter interrogative pronoun 'what.' It is used, also, in Western Magahi, and corresponds to the Hindi क्वा. In Eastern Magahi, and in Maithili, we first come upon the true Eastern form, क्वी; cf. Bangali কি.

## XXXVI.

मरि गैले हमार गुरु, प्र गायन

मरि गैले गुरु-भाई

मरि गैले हमार पिता, प्र गायन

मरि गैली बुढ़ि-माई

*Answer to the last.*

O singer, my preceptor is dead, and so is my brother disciple.

O singer, my father is dead, and so is my old mother.

## XXXVII.

कवना सकरिया तूं गुरु कै जारक्कैं

कवना सकरिया गुरु-भाई

कवना सकरिया तूं पिता कै जारक्कैं

कवना सकरिया बुढ़ि-माई

<sup>1</sup> Of what did you make the funeral pile of your preceptor, and of what that of your brother disciple ?

Of what did you make the funeral pile of your father, and of what that of your old mother ?

<sup>1</sup> Lit. With what wood did you burn your preceptor, etc.? कवणा is the obl. adj. form of the interrog. pron. कौन.

### XXXVIII.

चणन सकरिया हम गुह कै जारखीं

बदुर सकरिया गुह-भाइ

• अमवें सकरिया हम पिता कै जारखीं

कुसुमें सकरिया बुढ़ि-माइ

*Answer to the last.*

Of sandal did I make the pile of my preceptor, and of mimosa that of my brother disciple.

Of mango-wood<sup>1</sup> did I make the pile of my father, and of saffron that of my old mother.

<sup>1</sup> अमवें is instr. of अमवा, long form of आम. कुसुमें is instrumental of कुसुम.

### XXXIX.

करौं कोसवा मैं गङ्गा चाकर बहाए

करौं कोसवा मैं हवे लाम

करौं कोसवा मैं हवे लङ्का, श्री रामा

कौन विरवा ना फाँगि आए

How many *kōs* is the Ganges wide, and how many *kōs* is it long? How many *kōs* (high) was Lāṅkā, O Rāmā, and what hero crossed (its walls) in a leap?

## XL.

दस कोसवा में गङ्गा चाकर बहत बाढ़ी  
 ओर खेतवा से गङ्गा लाम  
 लाल कोस के गढ़ लङ्घना, प्र रामा  
 दीर हलिवन्त फानि आए

*Answer to the last.*

The Ganges flows ten *kōs* wide, and is as long as it is from beginning to end. O Rāmā, the fort of Lajkā was a hundred thousand *kōs* high, and the hero Haliwant (*i.e.* Hanumān) crossed (its walls) in a leap.

## XLI.

गङ्गा जि हँवी मर-खौकी, प्र रामा  
 काँचे पक्षे मर खाई  
 गङ्गा जि के हँवी ना निरमल जलवा  
 राति दिनवा बहि जाई

O Rāmā, the Ganges is an eater of dead bodies ; she eats carcases both raw and roast.<sup>1</sup> Yet the water of the Ganges is <sup>2</sup> pure, for it flows on night and day.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> काँचे and पक्षे are both emphatic of काँच and पाक्ष respectively. The allusion, of course, is to persons drowned in its waters, and those burnt on its banks.

<sup>2</sup> ना in this line is a mere expletive.

<sup>3</sup> This is a common argument in favour of a wandering existence ; especially that of a mendicant devotee.

## XLII.

नाहिं चिरहा कर खेती भेथा  
 नाहिं चिरहा परे ढाड़  
 चिरहा बसेले हिरिदया में, प्र रामा  
 जब उमगेले तब जाय  
 ॥ इति चिरहा के चङ्गाह समाप्त ॥

*In praise of the Bir'hd, or song so called, of which the foregoing are specimens.*

There is no cultivation of the Bir'hd, nor is it borne like fruit upon the branches of the trees.

O Rāmā, the Bir'hd dwells in the heart, and when the heart overflows, then does a man sing it.

*This concludes the collection of Bir'lds.*

### XLIII.

The following song purports to be by the celebrated Maithil poet, Bidyāpati Thākur. I would draw attention to it, as contradicting a theory put forward with some confidence in the *Calcutta Review* by Bābū Shyāma Charana Gānguli, to the effect that the songs of this poet are not known in the Bhoj'pūrī area. This song was written for me by a lady whose home is in Shāhabād, in the heart of Bhoj'pūr. I am indebted to the kindness of her husband (a gentleman of position in Government service) for the copy. It describes how a cowherdess of Brindāban (*Vrindāvana*) addresses Ūdhō (Uddhava), who has come to her with a message from Krish'n (Krishna), who had left her and gone to Mathurā at the invitation of Kans (Kaiṭaca). The metre is very irregular, probably owing to the fact that the song was originally written in Maithili, and transformed in the course of centuries into Bhoj'pūrī, without regard to the quantities of the resultant syllables. The metre seems to have originally been  $6+4+2$  instants, four times repeated; but in order to get this metre now a great many long syllables must be read as short ones. In one case, in order to scan, a whole word (रामा in verse 9) must be left out, and this can be done without spoiling the sense, as the word is a mere expletive. Some words bear their Maithili origin on the face, e.g. भज्यै in verse 20, and वर्ज्यै in verse 21. So a मुजूँ in verse 20, which is Bhoj'pūrī 2 imper. fem., must, the metre shows, originally have been ग्यै, which is regular Maithili imperat. for both genders.









